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# French Secular Music in Saint-Domingue (1750-1795) Viewed as a Factor in America's Musical Growth.

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(1750-1795) VIEWED AS A FACTOR IN AMERICA'S  
MUSICAL GROWTH.

The Louisiana State University and Agricultural  
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FRENCH SECULAR MUSIC IN SAINT-DOMINGUE (1750-1795)

VIEWED AS A FACTOR IN AMERICA'S MUSICAL GROWTH

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the  
Louisiana State University and  
Agricultural and Mechanical College  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

The School of Music

by

John G. Cale

B.M., Louisiana State University, 1943

M.A., University of Michigan, 1949

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The Bibliotheque de Versailles furnished helpful outlines of manuscripts and histories of Saint-Domingue, especially Manuscrit G. 278, an account of a voyage to the colony in 1764, by Gabriel François de Brueys d'Aigalliers.

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Sacrifices on the part of a writer's family during his lengthy periods of research and sentence shaping merit special mention. In the author's case, his wife's thesis, "Cultural Life in New Orleans in the 1850's," Louisiana State University, 1949, afforded excellent perspective as to the strength and duration of the French-centered society in that city.

## FOREWORD

In this study, the writer proposes to place certain types of French music as performed in Saint-Domingue (Haiti) into perspective with other lines of European musical influence bearing upon areas of Central and North America.

French colonists in the wealthy Caribbean cities of Saint-Domingue supported the production of light opera, ballet, and some music of a more serious nature, all of which followed models and standards of France's musical practices during the Rococo and Classical periods. Listings in the Appendix of this study reveal the frequency and extent of operatic and concert performances in the colony's cities during the period 1764-1791.

Significantly, French-oriented audiences attending these performances were able to respond in a manner similar to audiences in the mother country. This factor assumed the importance of a cultural implantation when French and mulatto refugees from the West Indies became a sizeable portion of the population of New Orleans around 1810. Approximately 10,000 of these persons fled the destructive slave uprisings in Saint-Domingue during the 1790's. They settled for the most part in Cuba, then moved to New Orleans and other cities in the United States when war broke out between France and Spain in the early nineteenth century.

It appears that the musical activity of this period has become lost among subsequent historical events. Gilbert Chase, in tracing the background of the pianist Louis Moreau Gottschalk (1829-1869), termed French opera as performed in New Orleans a fashionable and cultivated influence in that musician's boyhood. As a whole, Chase's account suggests that the sustaining power of the more conventional French music fell short when compared to the exotic rhythms and African folk melodies that came to New Orleans with the West Indian refugees, especially the slaves and gens du couleur, persons of mixed French and African blood.<sup>1</sup> With the research of the twentieth century at our disposal, we are able to observe the phenomenon of jazz and its incorporation of exotic as well as traditional musical elements.

At the same time, the conventional French musical practices of the eighteenth century and their role in the West Indies and New Orleans call for historical evaluation. The line of influence accentuated in this study extends clearly and in sufficient sociological depth from France to the theaters in Saint-Domingue and, finally, houses of New Orleans during the early nineteenth century.

The significant discoveries regarding Spanish music of the sixteenth century as taught, performed, and composed in Central

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<sup>1</sup>Gilbert Chase, America's Music (2nd ed. rev.; New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), pp. 301-303.



America are outlined in the introductory chapter. While this period precedes the flourishing of the French Caribbean sugar colonies by nearly two centuries, its accomplishments in sacred music warrant mention here. Santo Domingo, the seat of government for all of New Spain during this early period, was located on the eastern portion of the island which is the focal point of this study.

The music and musicians of the English-speaking communities along the North American Atlantic seaboard during the colonial and post-Revolutionary War periods left significant landmarks of accomplishment. Gilbert Chase, Wilfrid Mellers, and Oscar Sonneck are among those music historians who have published studies of this era. In listing early concerts and operatic performances in northern America, Sonneck acknowledges the West Indian background of many of the French musicians who appeared on programs from the 1790's. However, the terminal date for Sonneck's studies, 1800, results in special emphasis on the Atlantic seaboard cities, which were English-influenced communities, and less discussion of New Orleans, a predominantly French society, which did not reach the proportions of a city until after 1810.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, the writer feels that a survey of French musical models of the Enlightenment, and a view of the magnitude of musical theater

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<sup>1</sup>Oscar G. T. Sonneck, Early Concert Life in America (New York: Musurgia Publishers, 1949), p. 64.

and other performances in Saint-Domingue, form a worthwhile counterpart to the studies of other currents of musical development in America.

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## ABSTRACT

The existence of several theaters in the French colonial cities of the Caribbean, especially those on the French portion of Hispaniola called Saint-Domingue (now Haiti), has not been taken into account by music historians. The fact that these theaters supported groups of actors, singers, musicians, stage, and management personnel during the period of 1750-1791 (the latter being the date of the outset of the slave uprisings), reveals a dimension of French influence which has not yet been evaluated historically.

The writer has traced early Spanish and English developments in the New World with particular emphasis on the musical developments in New Spain (Mexico and Guatemala) in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The cultural shortcomings of the French in the New World colonies are also discussed.

French musical influence in Europe during and after the reign of Louis XIV is summarized, with particular emphasis given to music theater and light opera, the forms which could thrive in colonial societies.

The writer lists cities in Saint-Domingue which established theaters and cites information on performances and personnel. The extensive Appendix includes the following information regarding performances: works, composers, dates of performances, artists, and

places of performances in Saint-Domingue. Contemporary criticisms regarding certain performances are cited.

Works dealing with music and musicians in the United States in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries have enabled the writer to trace some of the vocalists, instrumentalists, and dancers from Saint-Domingue. Their influence was considerable in the French-speaking atmosphere of New Orleans; perhaps less so in the English-oriented societies of Charleston, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston.

## CHAPTER I

### SPAIN'S EARLY CULTURAL LEAD IN THE NEW WORLD

The influence of the French in the New World lagged behind that of the Spanish for nearly two centuries. While there is no tangible line of development which would reveal a cultural link between these two colonial powers in the Western Hemisphere, the earlier Spanish accomplishments stand as a significant background. Neither the French, British nor Dutch efforts at colonization in the New World occurred at such times or places where native populations were so inclined toward learning as those in New Spain (Mexico) in the sixteenth century.

The education of the Indians along Spanish lines began prior to 1525. While this was primarily religious in nature, the emphasis on music in the worship service resulted in well-trained friars and monks being sent to the New World by the Spanish crown.

Spanish writers of this era, when the Renaissance was still in its first century, have set down impressive observations of music as performed and taught in the newly discovered lands. Priests accompanying the crews of the ships on Columbus' voyages said or chanted masses according to the existing practices of the Roman Catholic Church.

One mass in particular bears mention here as the first European music known to have been performed in the geographical area of this study. The ceremony took place in the settlement of Ysabela on the northern coast of the island of Hispaniola, not a great distance from the later French colonial city, Cap Français. The Spanish historian Demorizi documented the occasion:

El 6 enero de 1494, día de la Epifanía, se canta en la Isabela, en una capilla improvisada, la primera misa oficiada en las tierras descubiertas.<sup>1</sup>

The early explorers abandoned the settlement at Ysabela and chose to try another location. They moved on foot to the southern coast of the island and constructed a stockade there. Established by 1496 and named Santo Domingo in honor of Columbus' father, this became the first permanent European settlement in the Americas.<sup>2</sup>

By 1500, Spanish officialdom's hopes of locating quantities of gold or shorter trade routes to the Orient by way of the new lands in the West had subsided. The settlement at Santo Domingo had dwindled to about 300 Spaniards and a few poorly constructed buildings. Fortunately, the Spanish crown recalled the successful agricultural colonies it had established some years earlier in the Canaries and other islands near the African coast.

As a result of this consideration, the Spanish government

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<sup>1</sup>Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi, La Isabela Apuntes y Documentos (La Habana: Sociedad Colombista Panamericana, 1945), p. 12.

<sup>2</sup>Arthur Percival Newton, The European Nations in the West Indies (London: A. and C. Black, 1933), p. 15.



appointed a royal governor, Francisco de Bobadilla, to undertake such a settlement on the island of Hispaniola. He landed there in 1500 with 2,500 men and a capable overseer, Nicolas de Ovando. The latter organized small groups of Spaniards and Indians to exploit gold washings in the island's interior, but the main thrust of the new effort was directed towards farming.<sup>1</sup>

The Tainan aborigines on Hispaniola did not adjust well to Spanish direction and customs, nor did they possess any sort of resistance to the contagious diseases brought in by the Europeans. Spanish historian Bartolomé de Las Casas reckoned that nine-tenths of the native Indians on Hispaniola had fled from the island or had died of disease or abuse by 1510.<sup>2</sup>

Indians from the Bahamas were brought to Hispaniola to serve as laborers, but they, too, died in great numbers. As a result, the Spanish began bringing in Negroes from Africa and possibly other farming colonies as early as 1507.<sup>3</sup>

While the West Indian tribes vanished early during Spanish conquests, their influence or a basic kinship is evident today in the islanders' love of processions and large group dances. One of the earliest of such folk dances to receive official mention was

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<sup>1</sup>Newton, The European Nations, pp. 17-18.

<sup>2</sup>Jacob M. Coopersmith, "Music and Musicians of the Dominican Republic," The Musical Quarterly, XXXI (1945), 76.

<sup>3</sup>Newton, The European Nations, p. 19.

performed on the occasion of the overseer Ovando's visit to the Indian province of Xaragua, a location near the present-day city of Léogâne in southern Haiti.<sup>1</sup>

When Ovando arrived in Xaragua (c. 1501), the Indian queen, Anacaona, met his party and welcomed the Spaniards with a three-day feast. Included in the festivities was an Indian song-dance which the Spanish historian, Oviedo y Valdes, described.<sup>2</sup> The circle dance was called an Areito (Areyto) by the natives, and the texts, among other things, provided recollections of how tribal chiefs died in battle. To perform the dance, men and women stood alternately in a large circle while the leader, the tequina, led off with a few steps and phrases, both imitated by the group. The Areito was accompanied by a drum beat and usually lasted several hours. On the occasion of Ovando's welcome feast, Spanish soldiers played guitar in competition with the Indians' skill at dancing.<sup>3</sup>

As an agricultural venture, Hispaniola began to show encouraging results soon after Bobadilla assumed the governorship. Successfully grown crops included oranges, lemons, figs, maize, rice, bananas, cacao, tobacco, paprika, and cotton. Petro de Atienza is

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<sup>1</sup>Sterling A. Stoudemire, trans., "Oviedo y Valdés' Natural History of the West Indies," University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, No. XXXII, pp. 38-39. See also Coopersmith, "Music and Musicians," p. 74.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ursula Lamb, Frey Nicolas de Ovando Gobernador de las Indias (1501-1509) (Madrid: Juan Bravo, 1956), pp. 128-129.

credited with introducing sugar cane to the islands, the crop which has played a major role in the West Indies' economy down to present times. Another landmark in this field was the construction of the first sugar mill, carried out under the direction of Gonzalo de Velosa in 1508.<sup>1</sup>

The close ties between the Roman Catholic Church and the Spanish throne at this time assured an early establishment of the church's formal organization in the New World. A Papal Bull of Julius II created the Archdiocese of Santo Domingo in 1504. Authorization for the erection of the cathedral in Santo Domingo, the first in the Americas, was granted in 1512. Pope Paul III chartered the University of Santo Thomas de Aquino, also located in Hispaniola's capital, in 1538.<sup>2</sup>

Construction of the cathedral in Santo Domingo proceeded slowly, requiring approximately twenty-six years from the time work began in 1514. Meanwhile, Cortés undertook the invasion of the Mexican mainland, and it became apparent that the natives there were more readily adaptable to European supervision than were any of the Indians thus far encountered on the islands.

The number of new church buildings in Mexico, constructed for the most part by native labor, reveals at least a willingness of the Indians there to function under Spanish direction. Records at Santo

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<sup>1</sup>Newton, The European Nations, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup>Coopersmith, "Music and Musicians," pp. 76-77.

Domingo, where the seat of government remained for all Spanish holdings in the New World, list twenty churches in Mexico by 1531. Viceroy Mendoza reported forty-five monasteries in Mexican cities by 1540.

Already ahead of Hispaniola, Cuba, or any other colonial locality in numbers of buildings erected, Mexico also demonstrated more progressive construction. Spanish and Mexican builders began around 1550 to replace weak adobe, wooden, or rammed earth walls with more durable masonry. Thirty-eight stone churches of the 1540-1560 period are standing today in Mexico.<sup>1</sup>

The Indians also took a keen interest in Spanish music, and Cortés lost no time in exploiting their love of the art. When his invasion force reached San Juan de Ulua, the Lenten season was drawing to a close. Indians who met the Spaniards spoke of a governor, who would arrive within several days and offer official greetings.

Historian Bernal Díaz del Castillo has left an account of the subsequent Easter Sunday event, which was attended not by one, but by two of Montezuma's governors.

The next day, Easter Sunday, the governor whom they (Indians who met the boat) spoke of arrived. His name was Tendile, a man of affairs, and with him another governor, Pitalpitoque.

Cortés bade them welcome through interpreters and asked them to wait.

Meanwhile, he ordered an altar to be made as well as it could

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<sup>1</sup> John McAndrew, The Open-Air Churches of Sixteenth Century Mexico (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp. 122-123.

be in the time, and Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo, who was a fine singer, chanted Mass, and Padre Juan Díaz assisted, and the two governors and the other chiefs who were with them looked on. When Mass was over, Cortés and some of our captains and the two Indian officers of the great Montezuma dined together.<sup>1</sup>

Cortés ran into difficulties during this period of conquest, not only with opposing Indian factions within Mexico, but with other Spanish overlords as well. Soon after his landing in Mexico in 1519, however, he saw the need for friars who could work full time at teaching and training the Indians.

His request for these was honored, and in 1523, three monks arrived who had spent several years in the Franciscan house at Ghent, Flanders. They were Pedro de Gante, Arnaldo Bassacio, and Juan Caro.<sup>2</sup>

The first of these mentioned, Fray Pedro de Gante (c. 1480-1572), was a native of Ghent and a well-trained musician. The Spanish historians of the period: Motolinía, Castillo, and Torquemada--have credited this teacher with transplanting Spanish preeminence in music of sixteenth-century Europe to the New World. By 1525, Fray Pedro had founded a school at Texcuco, near present-day Mexico City, which was probably the first in the Americas to offer a variety of European subjects.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Bernal Díaz del Castillo, The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico, 1517-1521, trans. A. P. Maudslay (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Gudahy, 1956), p. 70.

<sup>2</sup>Robert M. Stevenson, Music in Mexico (New York: Thomas Crowell Co., 1952), p. 52.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 53.

His assistants, friars Arnaldo Bassacio and Juan Caro, taught canto llano (plain chant) and canto organo (part or polyphonic singing) to the Indians. An hour each day spent in such instruction for the choir boys produced results that were praised by government and church officials. Churches often were built with two or more choir areas for antiphonal performances and instrumental support of the singing groups. The teachers also adapted the natives' dances, songs, and costumes of their own rituals for use in the dramatization of Bible stories. In 1529, Fray Pedro described his routine in simplified terms in a letter to a superior: "In the daytime, I teach reading, writing, and singing; At night I read the Catechism and preach."<sup>1</sup>

In describing the Easter celebration at Tlaxcala in 1539, historian Motolinía praised the quality of the polyphonic singing and the supporting instruments. Fortunately, these historians were careful to use accurate terms in describing the performance they witnessed so that examination of the Spanish text today provides a number of details overlooked by interim translators. Motolinía wrote of two sections of musicians; those singing in parts (canto de organo), and the players of instruments (cantos y musicas). He said there were two groups of singers with twenty in each group in addition to players on the rebec (rabel), Moorish flutes grouped to

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<sup>1</sup>McAndrew, The Open-Air Churches, p. 372.

imitate the organ (jabebas), drums (atabales), and bells (campanas).<sup>1</sup>

On the same occasion, Motolinia described a native play that depicted the fall of Adam and Eve. This included a variety of native costumes and dances in addition to Renaissance sacred and secular musical forms. At the play's conclusion, a choir of angels sang a Circumdederunt me followed by a villancico based on Eve's eating of the forbidden fruit.<sup>2</sup>

Motolinia also spoke of wind instrument players (los ministriles) from Spain who lived among the Indians and taught.

Other historians have described the eagerness of the Indians in Mexico to copy all types of Spanish crafts, including the making of musical instruments. Juan de Torquemada, who did most of his writing around 1600 but who drew much of his material from Motolinia's period, said that flutes (flautas) were the first instruments so copied. Later, he wrote, came shawms (chirimías), krummhorns (orlos), viola da gambas (vihuelas de arco), animal horn cornets (cornetas), and upper-range faggots (baxones). To this list he added sackbuts (sacabuches), trumpets (trompetas), kettledrums (arabales), rebecs (rabeles), guitars (guitarras), lutes (vihuelas), harps (harpas), and monochords (monacordios).

Torquemada also listed Discantes immediately following

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<sup>1</sup>Fray Toribio de Benavente O Motolinia, Historia de los Indios de la Nueva Espana (Mexico, D. F.: Salvador Hayhoe, 1941), p. 93.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 94-95.

Guitarras, possibly as a term signifying a smaller, higher-register guitar rather than another instrument. The appearance of monacordios on the list leaves room for speculation as to whether Torquemada was referring to the clavichord or to the earlier instrument of the true "monochord" type.<sup>1</sup>

Not only the copying and making of musical instruments but hand-copying and finally printing books demonstrates the Mexican Indians' desire to master European arts. More than two hundred books were published in New Spain during the sixteenth century, twelve of which were known to contain music. During this same period, 1556-1589, no musical publications came from the other Spanish colonial centers.<sup>2</sup>

Among the Mexican books with printed music were the Ordinarium of the Augustinians (1556), the Manuale sacramentorum (1560), and the Missale Romanorum ordinarium (1561). These were probably destroyed when the Church ordered revisions in 1568.<sup>3</sup>

Canon Gaspar Lopez, whose tenure of service at the cathedral in Mexico City dates to 1530, received books of plain chant, polyphony, processions, and psalters from Spain for basic volumes in the

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<sup>1</sup>Fray Juan de Torquemada, Tercera Parte de los Veinte i un Libros Rituales i Monarchia Indiana, 3 vols. (Madrid: N. Rodriguez Franeo, 1723), III, 214.

<sup>2</sup>Stevenson, Music in Mexico, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup>Lota M. Spell, "Music in the Cathedral of Mexico in the Sixteenth Century," The Hispanic American Historical Review, XXVI (Aug., 1946), 313.



choir's early library.<sup>1</sup>

A shipment of forty crates of books to Mexico in October, 1584, contained ten Horas Dominicales, ten Arte de Canto llano, three Psalterio dominico, two Brevario dominico, one Ordinario dominico, thirteen Catecismo del Papa, and 196 Biblios de Vatablo. An unpublished catalogue of the Cathedral's library in 1589 includes good representation of Europe's leading musical figures of the period: Morales, Victoria, di Lasso, and Palestrina.<sup>2</sup>

A Mexican performer on the vihuela, Simon García de Becerril, declared a list of his books for officials of the Inquisition in 1620. Among these were four method books for the lute by Spanish authorities Luis Milan, Enriquez de Valderrábano, Fuenllana, and Narváez.<sup>3</sup>

Compositions by musicians working in Mexico began to appear around 1550. Spanish musicologist Jesús Bal y Gay has edited extant works of Juan de Lienas in Mexico City. The works of Hernando Franco, choirmaster at Mexico in 1575, have also been located and transcribed into modern notation. His polyphonic compositions are in three to eleven voices with straightforward treatment of each part.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Spell, "Music in the Cathedral of Mexico," p. 295.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 316.

<sup>3</sup>Irving A. Leonard, Baroque Times in Old Mexico (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959), p. 83.

<sup>4</sup>Steven Barwick (ed.), The Franco Codex (Carbondale: University of Southern Illinois Press, 1965).

Compositions of the Mexican composer of the Baroque period, Juan Gutierrez de Padilla, have been set in modern notation as part of a doctoral dissertation by Alice Ray, University of Southern California, 1953. Padilla, who died in 1664, composed masses, motets (six for double choir), Marian antiphones, lamentations, passions, and villancicos.<sup>1</sup>

Motolinía wrote that he had seen the manuscript of a complete mass set by a native singer of Tlaxcala in the 1530's. Thus far this is a work awaiting rediscovery.<sup>2</sup>

Arriving in New Spain a century after Pedro de Gante, the Englishman Thomas Gage has left a published account of his work and travels in Mexico and Guatemala. Gage came to Mexico on a mission as a Dominican friar in 1625 after spending a period of residence in Jerez, Andalusia.

His observations lack the detail, especially in the area of musical terminology, possessed so positively by the earlier Spanish writers. But his book reveals the sustained interest in sacred music as well as a growing affinity for secular music among both natives and Spaniards.

At Tlaxcala, where Fray Pedro de Gante built churches and

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<sup>1</sup>Robert M. Stevenson, "The Distinguished Maestro of New Spain," The Hispanic American Historical Review, XXV (Aug., 1955), 372.

<sup>2</sup>Francis Borgia Steck (trans.), Motolinía's History of the Indians of New Spain (Washington: Academy of Franciscan History, 1951), p. 296.

schools in the 1520's, Gage observed fifty Indian singers, organists, and instrumentalists, who, according to the author, "set out the Mass with very sweet and harmonious music." Gage said the instruments were for the most part trumpets and waits (shawms).<sup>1</sup>

Gage wrote that the students at the Franciscan cloister at Guacocingo received instruction in music and dancing to the guitar.<sup>2</sup> He further noted a visit to a prior at the cloister in St. John de Ulhua and described the official's performance on the guitarra to accompany an Amaryllis, for which he had devised his own poem.<sup>3</sup>

Gage's book reveals its author's concern over what he saw as growing worldliness in the seventeenth-century, Spanish-led Church in Mexico. He praised the quality of the music he heard, but complained that people came to delight in it rather than finding delight in the service of God.<sup>4</sup>

At Mixco, Guatemala, the English Dominican friar praised the round, vaulted top of the church's chapel as a work of architecture and also the quality of the altar paintings at Amatitlan. He singled out the importance of the fiscal, the priest's clerk, among the Guatemalans, one reason for this being that he served generally as a

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas Gage, A New Survey of the West Indies, 1648 (New York: Robert M. McBride, 1929), p. 49.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 52.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 90.

town's master of music.<sup>1</sup>

Gage's book appears to be one of the few descriptive sources of music in Mexico during the seventeenth century. Robert Stevenson suggests that Spanish ruling authorities effected a shift of emphasis from Mexico to Peru about this time, and Spanish historians may have shifted their energies accordingly.<sup>2</sup> Yet this change in political currents did not appear to alter the mood of musical creativity among composers like Juan Gutierrez de Padilla and others of his period.

Gage's description of a native dance in Guatemala, the ton-contin, gives a measure of insight into the eclectic spirit of the mainland Indians in the area of Mexico. The author said the dance was sometimes performed in Spain by those living in the Indies to demonstrate the Indians' manner, possibly at its most riotous. There were costumes of linen and silks adorned with bird feathers, these acquired from Mexico; along with pipes (flutes?), sea shells, and Spanish guitars, thus a combination of primitive, domestic, and imported musical instruments; all accompanied to the beat of the tepanabaz, a Guatemalan drum held over from a more primitive era and recalling the areito song-dance from the island tribes.<sup>3</sup> With such a susceptibility on the part of the Mexican Indians for new ideas and

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<sup>1</sup>Gage, A New Survey of the West Indies, p. 249.

<sup>2</sup>Robert M. Stevenson, Music in Aztec and Inca Territory (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), p. vii.

<sup>3</sup>Gage, A New Survey of the West Indies, p. 248.

activities during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there is little wonder that purely Aztec styles are difficult to trace today.

The island cultures presented the Spaniards with a different picture. The Church established missions and schools from the earliest years of Spanish occupation. But the natives of Hispaniola and Cuba as well as the Africans who replaced them on the land showed no zeal to learn the music nor the crafts of the Spanish. Thus began a creole-Spanish culture of refinement, and a creole-African tilling of the soil as a general basis of West Indian sociology.

A gifted Spanish organist, Cristobal de Llerena, born 1540 in Santo Domingo, became canon at the cathedral in that city and rector at the university. His successor, Lopez de Avila, wrote Philip II that Llerena possessed uncommon talent, that he had taught himself Latin, and that his knowledge of music was sufficient for him to have held the post of choirmaster at Toledo.<sup>1</sup> Llerena established music as a prerequisite for the doctor of arts degree at the universities of Santo Tomás de Aquino and Gorjón, both of which were in operation in the Archdiocese of Santo Domingo from the middle of the sixteenth century.

In the area of secular music, the Caribbean islands received small groups of mixed-nationality minstrels and dance musicians as early as 1580. Historian Laureano Fuentes located the names of such

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<sup>1</sup>Jacob M. Coopersmith, "Music and Musicians of the Dominican Republic," The Musical Quarterly, XXXI (1945), 78.

a group of performers in Cuba about that time: Pedro Almanza, violinist from Málaga; Jacome Viceira, wind instrument player from Lisbon; Micaela Ginés, vihuelista from Santo Domingo; and Pascual de Ochoa, violinist from Seville. Micaela and Teodora Ginés were described as liberated Negresses from Santo Domingo, who played guitar-like instruments and sang.<sup>1</sup>

While processions and religious plays and festivities caught the imagination of many of the peoples of New Spain, the more formal theatrical presentations, comedy and drama, did not. Actors from Spain formed a company in Lima, Peru, in 1599, but it apparently had limited success.<sup>2</sup> For urbane theatrical undertakings, including the musical theater, the New World was to await the arrival of French and English efforts in these fields during the latter years of the eighteenth century.

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<sup>1</sup>Coopersmith, "Music and Musicians," p. 79.

<sup>2</sup>A. S. W. Rosenbach, "The First Theatrical Company in America," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society (Oct., 1938), published separately by the Society, 1939, pp. 1-13.

## CHAPTER II

### THE NEW WORLD COLONIES OF THE BRITISH AND FRENCH

England's defeat of the Spanish armada in 1588 has established a convenient date of reference in the political history of Europe. In the New World, however, it registers no significant turning point. The Spanish continued to assert considerable artistic influence in Europe and Hispanic America throughout the subsequent century while Englishmen struggled to establish surviving colonies farther to the North.

At the same time, France pursued a number of venturesome activities ranging from Jacques Cartier's small settlements in Canada to the continued raiding of Spanish, English, and Dutch commerce in the West Indies.

England's religious diversity weakened any missionary zeal comparable to that held by the Spanish or the French, where the latter operated officially from the crown. Most of the early colonists came to New England seeking freedom to practice their faith. They were refugees rather than missionaries or educators, and the natives they encountered were looked upon as enemies or at least problems.

Yet in this fight for survival, the colonists' feeling for

the music at hand grew strong. Copies of the Ainsworth Psalter came with the first New Englanders in 1620, and psalm singing was popular among all the colonies.

Unlike Spanish colonists, who brought with them or purchased later, works by the first rank Spanish composers, the New Englanders did not seek out the works of Orlando Gibbons, John Blow, nor Henry Purcell during the seventeenth century. The fact that the first printing of the Bay Psalm Book in 1640 contained no musical notation indicates a generally oral tradition. A subsequent edition of the same book of psalms with musical notation appeared in 1698, almost a century and a half after the earliest music printing in New Spain.<sup>1</sup>

The place of secular music in the lives of the Puritans remains a matter of disagreement. Judge Sewell's diary attests to the fact that he was able to enjoy chamber music as well as psalm singing within the restrictions of his faith.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, there are those who continue to cite conditions of church policy showing that Calvinism during the seventeenth century was lethal to any music that brought undue attention to itself.<sup>3</sup>

There were, however, more sophisticated Puritans, Anglicans,

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<sup>1</sup>Arthur C. Edwards and W. Thomas Marrocco, Music in the United States (Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown, 1968), p. 7.

<sup>2</sup>Gilbert Chase, America's Music (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), pp. 3-5.

<sup>3</sup>Cyclone Covey, "Music in Colonial America," William and Mary Quarterly, VIII (1951), 388.



as well as Roman Catholics and Lutherans among the colonists who possessed strong feelings for art music. These elements of colonial society were ready to receive such music and musicians during the eighteenth century.

Although commercial rivals, the French and Spanish came to the New World with the understanding that they would Christianize and educate the Indians in the Roman Catholic faith. The explorer Jacques Cartier made note of the fact that mass was sung soon after his French party arrived at Bonne Espérance Harbour, Labrador, on June 14, 1534.<sup>1</sup>

Cartier's first voyage did not result in a permanent settlement, and France's next attempt at colonizing did not occur until the founding of Port Royal, Nova Scotia, in 1605.

France and England ran into territorial conflicts in the Quebec area in 1625. By 1632, these were resolved to a point where the Jesuits returned to the town. In 1635, they began systematic instruction in music for French and Indian boys. Four years later, the Ursulines arrived and took charge of education for native and European girls.

Jesuit records from this period give the account of a drummer, François du Moussart, from the military unit at Quebec. The young man was ordered to the church fathers for further study since he

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<sup>1</sup>Helmut Kallman, A History of Music in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), p. 8.

appeared to be a good musician. There are few references in colonial records relating to military units and their musicians.<sup>1</sup>

France's early exploration of the West Indies is difficult to follow since it was linked with large scale raiding of Spanish cargo ships. As early as 1512, a statement from King Ferdinand of Spain to Portugal's authorities voiced complaint that French ships were using Portuguese harbors to raid Spanish ships returning from the Indies. In the following year, Spain dispatched two armed ships to protect her shipping in the West Indies against French raiders based in that area.<sup>2</sup>

The high quality of French seamanship was no secret to the Spanish nor the Portuguese. Early in the fifteenth century (c. 1402), Jean de Béthencourt and Gadifer de la Salle established colonies on two islands in the Canaries, Lanzarote and Fuerteventura. After bringing Norman and Spanish settlers to the islands, located approximately sixty miles off the Moroccan coast, the two French knights disagreed as to their areas of responsibility. Military aid from Castile came to Béthencourt's side, and la Salle gave up his part in the venture. By 1418, France had deeded both colonies to Spain, thus providing the latter nation with a stepping stone to further exploration.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Lota M. Spell, "Music in New France in the Seventeenth Century," Canadian Historical Review, VIII (June, 1927), 123-125.

<sup>2</sup>Herbert I. Priestly, France Overseas through the Old Regime (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1939), p. 76.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

Certain French historians have kept alive a rather vague account of a French sailor, Jean Cousin, who supposedly sailed from Dieppe to the mouth of the Amazon River in 1488, though there is no actual documentation of the voyage.<sup>1</sup>

Equally mysterious but backed by more certain evidence was the settlement of several islands in the West Indies by hunters of European origin during the sixteenth century. Since most of these buccaneers, as they were called, spoke French or English, historians have presumed that they were castaways, shipwrecked crews, or escapees from ships sent out to raid Spanish treasure vessels.<sup>2</sup>

These wanderers roamed areas of the West Indies which were to become prospering colonies of France in the eighteenth century—western Hispaniola, the Isle of Tortuga, and other small islands. They lived by hunting wild cattle and hogs that ran free after escaping Spanish herds. Before the end of the seventeenth century, ships of all European sea powers began to make stops at these wild harbors to obtain dried meat and hides.<sup>3</sup> Some of these squatters manned raiding ships, continuing the role of corsairs or flibustiers for which many French islanders were notorious.

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<sup>1</sup>Justin Winsor, Christopher Columbus and How He Received and Imparted the Spirit of Discovery (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1891), p. 174.

<sup>2</sup>C. H. Haring, The Buccaneers in the West Indies in the XVII Century (London: Methuen & Co., 1910), p. 57.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 58.

The buccaneers had no use for the refinements of church and schooling. Their descendants were to join a segment of eighteenth-century French colonial society known as the petits blancs, small farmers and craftsmen who scorned the upper classes.

In this manner formal colonizing in the West Indies progressed slowly for the French. Not until 1623 was there any known example of actual land acquisition. During that year, Chambaut and d'Esnameuc purchased Saint Christopher island from the British and planted a portion of it in tobacco. During the 1630's, the French conducted further explorations in Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Dominique, and these activities led to the formation of the Company of the Indies. This company had royal authority to colonize and buy slaves from the Dutch and British.<sup>1</sup>

By this time, French enterprises in the West Indies were proving more productive than those in Canada, where there were only a hundred or so settlers in all of the St. Lawrence River regions. In comparison, the British had already settled 4,000 colonists in Virginia alone by 1625. With this in mind, it is easy to see why France began concentrating her energies in the West Indies during this century.

Sugar farming was added to the tobacco industry in 1639 when the French Company of the Isles of America contracted with a Dutchman,

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<sup>1</sup>Priestly, France Overseas, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 61.

Trezel, to cultivate and manage a 3,000-acre sugar plantation on the island of Martinique. The effort failed to make a profit, but a similar venture on Guadeloupe in 1647 was successful, and sugar soon became the principal enterprise in all the island colonies.<sup>1</sup>

The growth of the French population in this area during the transitional period from buccaneering to agriculture gives some indication of the coming period of prosperity in the eighteenth century. In 1664, there were approximately 400 Frenchmen in the buccaneer stronghold on the Isle of Tortuga. By 1668, there were 1500 persons in that colony and an estimated 2,000 inhabitants in the western part of Hispaniola.<sup>2</sup>

Less than twenty years later, the population of all French Caribbean holdings, including Martinique, Guadeloupe, and western Hispaniola (Saint-Domingue) had grown to 18,000 whites and 27,000 African slaves. By 1701, the slowly increasing French population began shifting towards the larger and more fertile sugar plantation areas of Saint-Domingue.<sup>3</sup>

Politically, the French West Indies came of age in 1664 when Colbert, minister for King Louis XIV, named Bertrand d'Ogeron head of

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<sup>1</sup>J. H. Parry, A Short History of the West Indies (London: MacMillan Co., 1956), p. 66.

<sup>2</sup>Nellis M. Crouse, The French Struggle for the West Indies 1665-1713 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), p. 133.

<sup>3</sup>Parry, A Short History, p. 70.

the Compagnie des Indes Occidentales. Women were brought to the colonies from France along with increasing numbers of slaves from Senegal and other parts of western Africa. This type of labor force and the family plantation system that came into being at this time became the cornerstone of large-scale agriculture in the New World.<sup>1</sup>

By terms of the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, which marked settlement of one of the many balance-of-power wars involving England, France, Spain, and the Netherlands, France received title to the western portion of Hispaniola, an area already unofficially French for more than a century. The colony, Saint-Domingue, largest of the French West Indies, was destined to bring wealth to the French monarchy during most of the Century of Enlightenment. But its formerly buccaneer strata and other segments of society would continue to resist the social graces of France. The colony's language was already a patois tempered by the years its users had been away from Europe and by the circumstances under which they had managed to survive.

Instead of a close union between the Catholic Church and the French Caribbean sugar colonies, as had been the order of things in French Canada and in New Spain, the church managed to spread little influence and achieved few conversions in early Saint-Domingue.

Louis XIV appointed Jean-Baptiste de Casse as governor of the

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<sup>1</sup> John Edwin Fagg, Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 115.

colony in 1691. Under his guidance, legitimate trade replaced the long tradition of French piracy, and the expanding sugar plantations on the island's interior tracts rooted out most of the remaining cattle hunters. There was occasional warfare among Europe's naval powers in the area, but by the eighteenth century, these battles were carried on under the direction of disciplined militia rather than by gangs of raiders.<sup>1</sup>

In 1713, the Peace of Utrecht further stabilized the areas of control in the West Indies among the major European powers and set the stage generally for a more orderly development.<sup>2</sup>

Early in the eighteenth century, heads of families on the West Indian sugar plantations had reached the point where they wanted more refinements and better education for their children. When it became financially possible, the children of the planters were sent to Paris for their education. When they returned to their homes, they brought at least a sampling of Parisian urbanity at a time when the operas of Lully and Campra were highlights of the royal court.

The Haitian historian, Thomas Madiou, summarized the effects of new wealth and refinement in the plantation homes of the early eighteenth century as an impressive round of parties with equally impressive entertainment.

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<sup>1</sup>Parry, A Short History, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup>Crouse, The French Struggle, p. 310.

Les planteurs réunissaient alternativement leurs voisins sur leurs propriétés, et donnaient des fêtes splendides. L'on trouvait sur les habitations des plaines et des mornes tout le luxe et les plaisirs de l'Europe: musiciens, chanteurs, danseurs, acteurs, ballets, comédies, tragédies. Les jeunes gens des deux sexes y avaient des instituteurs que le colon taisait venir de France et qu'il entretenait à grands frais. On y voyait des dames qui par leur grâce et leur éducation eussent fait le charme des soirées du Faubourg St. Germain.<sup>1</sup>

More specifically, the eighteenth-century French writer, Alfred Laujon, in his Souvenirs de trente années de voyages à Saint-Domingue recalled what he considered an outstanding voice at such a gathering.

Son frère arrivait de France où il passait pour avoir reçu une excellente éducation. Je veux croire qu'il possédât de fort grands talents; mais ce qui était d'une haute valeur et qu'il n'avait pas pu acquérir, était une voix remarquable. Le jeune Bataille était dans l'habitude de se faire beaucoup prier, et ce ne fut que après bien des insistances qu'il se crut forcé de se rendre.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas Madiou, Histoire D'Haiti (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie Edmond Chenet, 1922), Vol. I, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup>Jean Fouchard, Plaisirs de Saint-Domingue (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie de L'Etat, 1955), p. 65.



### CHAPTER III

#### FRANCE'S MUSICAL STANDING FROM LULLY TO THE REVOLUTION

The power and elegance of the French court under Louis XIV attracted many foreign musicians to Paris during and after that monarch's reign. The beginning date for this period of musical growth may be placed at 1669, the year the Abbé Perrin established the Académie de Musique. Lully had also established a far-reaching reputation as a violinist in the king's "Twenty-four Violins" and as director of his personal ensemble, Les Petits Violons.

Among the foreign students in Paris at the inception of the Académie was the German Georg Muffat (1653-1704), who mastered Lully's standards for instrumental performance and composition. Muffat remained in the French capital for six years, from 1663 until 1669, then returned to Alsace Lorraine. Afterwards he held several musical positions in Germany. His work dealing with string playing, Florilegium (1695 and 1698), includes information on the French method of bowing, the execution of ornaments, and other matters attesting to Lully's academy as a setter of trends.<sup>1</sup>

After Lully's death in 1687, the influence of French opera

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<sup>1</sup>Hellmut Federhofer, "Georg Muffat," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, IX (1961), cols. 915-919.

and ballet continued to reflect the international leadership of the royal court. The works of Andre Campra (1660-1744) in the opera-ballet retained Lully's dramatic principles of large choral and ballet scenes as main points of attraction. Meanwhile, there emerged at some cultural distance from traditional opera a lighter musical form, the théâtre de la foire, the comedy of the market place. As the century of enlightenment progressed, Paris became Europe's proving ground for composers of opera in all principal styles.<sup>1</sup>

Music outside the theater also made progress in France during the early eighteenth century. Marc Antoine Charpentier (1634-1704), a proponent of Italian musical practices based on his studies in Italy, composed twenty-four Latin oratorios. The motets of Michel-Richard de Lalande (1657-1726), Henri Dumont (1610-1684), and François Couperin (1668-1733) revealed similarities to the secular cantata with orchestral accompaniment. Couperin's innovations in keyboard music influenced performers and composers throughout Europe. The violin sonatas of Jean Marie Leclair (1697-1767) made use of French as well as Italian ornaments and bowing practices.

The inauguration of le Concert spirituel under King Louis XV in 1725 induced numbers of non-French composers to visit Paris. Anne Danican Philidor (d. 1728) organized the first of these concerts. Originally a vehicle for royal patronage of sacred musical performances, the programs were expanded later to include secular

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<sup>1</sup>Renée Girardon, "Frankreich," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, IV (1955), col. 767-768.

instrumental works, especially symphonies and concertos. Georg Philipp Telemann (1681-1767), members of the Mannheim School, including Johann, Carl, and Anton Stamitz, and W. A. Mozart were among the foreign composers whose works were influenced by the size and power of the orchestra and chorus employed for these musical occasions. The French Revolution brought about the end of the Concert spirituel as a royally sponsored institution. But public performances with a similar format continued to attract French audiences, and the idea reached other capitals, notably London and Vienna, before the end of the eighteenth century.

Already familiar with Italian and French stylings in instrumental music as played in the court orchestras at Braunschweig and Hildesheim, Telemann visited Paris in the autumn and winter of 1737. The orchestra of the Concert spirituel performed several of his works, and the king granted him publishing privileges for a twenty-year period.<sup>1</sup>

In the field of orchestral music, Johann Stamitz (1717-1757), established liaison between Paris and his own organization at Mannheim. He visited the French capital in 1751 and again in 1754. The Concert spirituel orchestra performed one of his violin concertos and a sonata for viola d'amore, and Stamitz himself conducted a new symphony during his second visit. As a result of his efforts, the

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<sup>1</sup>Martin Ruhnke, "Telemann," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, XIII (1966), cols. 189-190.

composer received ten-year publishing rights in Paris. Stamitz' sons, Carl and Anton, also visited the French city in 1770 and 1773.<sup>1</sup>

Foreign musicians residing in Paris were often critical of French music and attitudes, thus their praise for Gallic accomplishments becomes more credible when it did appear. In a letter to Frau Maria Theresa Hagenauer of Salzburg, Leopold Mozart wrote during his trip to Paris in 1764:

There is perpetual war here between the Italian and French music. The whole of French music is not worth a sou. But the French are now starting to make drastic changes, for they are beginning to waver very much; and in ten to fifteen years the present French taste, I hope, will have completely disappeared. The Germans are taking the lead in the publication of their compositions. Amongst these Schobert, Eckhardt, Honnauer for the clavier and Hochbrucker and Mayr for the harp are the favourites.<sup>2</sup>

A letter from W. A. Mozart during his Paris residence in 1778 written to his father in Salzburg does little to support the above prediction:

Kapellmeister Holzbauer has sent a Miserere here, but as the choruses at Mannheim are weak and poor, whereas in Paris they are powerful and excellent, the choruses as he composed them would not be effective. So M. Le Gros (director of the Concert spirituel) has asked me to compose others, Holzbauer's introductory chorus being retained.<sup>3</sup>

This letter also mentions a symphony, identified by the editor as K. 297, which Mozart said was applauded by the Concert

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<sup>1</sup>Peter Gradenwitz, "Johann Stamitz," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, XII (1965), col. 1152.

<sup>2</sup>The Letters of Mozart and his Family, trans. Emily Anderson (London: Macmillan, 1938), pp. 53-54.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 768.

spirituél audience.

In the French provincial and colonial towns, musicians in the church and militia dispensed the mood of musical progress that grew in Paris as the eighteenth century reached the halfway mark. Haitian historian Jean Fouchard described the enviable reputation of the musicians of the regiment of militia stationed at Port-au-Prince after the city became a colonial capital around 1750. The band presented public concerts during the pre-carnival season with admission fees for Sunday performances serving as benefits for the musicians.<sup>1</sup>

The opera, popular as it was in outlying areas during the last four decades of the century, remained a fixture of the largest European cities during the generation of Campra and Jean Philippe Rameau (1683-1764). The latter composer's opera-ballet Les Indes galantes (1735), the title of which indicates an interest in an exotic impression of life in the New World, featured large choruses, groups of dancers, and heavy stage machinery. Rameau's theatrical successes during the 1730's touched off the first of the century's operatic "wars," that of the Lullists and the Ramists. Whatever were the underlying conflicts in this and subsequent disputes, the controversies served to publicize Parisian musical theater on a broad scale. And with gifted writers of the standing of Grimm and Rousseau involved in the word battles, interest in the arts continued to grow.

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<sup>1</sup>Jean Fouchard, Plaisirs de Saint-Domingue (Port-au-Prince, Haiti: Imprimerie de L'Etat, 1955), p. 152.

Following Rameau's success with Castor et Pollux in 1737, the Lully supporters revived Persée. Feeling between the two factions reached such intensity that Rameau stopped composing for the theater for several years. A supporter of Rameau, M. Freron, tried to picture the composer in a conciliatory position between French and Italian styles:

La musique de M. Rameau n'est ni purement française, ni purement italienne. Il a les grâces et la douceur de l'une, sans en avoir la monotonie; la profondeur et le génie de l'autre, sans trop sentir la science.<sup>1</sup>

But the battle continued until Rameau died in 1764. By that time, the War of the Buffoons had begun to serve as a battlefield for operatic factions in Paris.

Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714-1787), who followed Rameau as the French capital's main proponent of opera seria, had studied in Italy and had travelled with Angelo Mingotti's opera company before coming to Paris. Thus his background up to 1760 would have enabled him to work on either side in the musical struggle between French and Italian devotees, or, for that matter, he could have represented comic or serious opera supporters.

Gluck's experience with early operatic road companies probably contributed more toward the dissemination of his art than did his later reforms. At Graz, Austria, during the carnival season in 1746, Mingotti's troupe played a pasticcio, La Finta Aschiva,

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<sup>1</sup>Renée Girardon, "Frankreich," col. 768.

presumably a work of Gluck. After performing in Prague, Leipzig, and Dresden, the company returned to Leipzig in 1747 for the Easter Fair. Gluck left the organization that year and went to Vienna, where the Burgtheater performed his opera, Semiramide riconosciuta. He rejoined Mingotti in 1748, but subsequently toured with another company headed by Giovanni Battista Locatelli.<sup>1</sup>

The comic operas Le Cadi dupé, 1761, and La rencontre imprevue, 1764, parallel early reformist undertakings, namely, the ballet Don Juan, 1761, and the opera Orfeo ed Euridice, 1762. Working with Gluck during this Viennese period were the ballet master, Angiolini, and the poet, Calzabigi.

Gluck's achievements in the Austrian capital in the field of comic opera led to an invitation to Paris a decade prior to his full commitment there in operatic reform. A letter from Charles Simon Favart (1710-1792) in June, 1763, offered Gluck a furnished apartment in Paris and other facilities for composing.<sup>2</sup> Favart had achieved notable success in composing and staging light opera in the French capital, and he was aware of Gluck's skill in that genre. There is no record of an answer from Gluck regarding Favart's offer, but he visited Paris for a short time in 1764.

The composer's extended period of residence in the French

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<sup>1</sup>The Collected Correspondence and Papers of Christoph Willibald Gluck, eds. Hedwig and E. H. Mueller von Asow (London: Barrie & Rockliff, 1962), pp. 7-8.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 21-22.

capital began in 1773. He came from Vienna at the invitation of Queen Marie Antoinette, the Austrian-born wife of Louis XVI who became king in 1771. Gluck had served previously as a teacher in the Viennese court and had given Marie Antoinette instruction in music. Her new position in France enabled her to support performances of Gluck's opera seria in spite of expected opposition from the Bouffonist party. The reception of Iphigénie en Aulide for the Paris performance in 1774, was generally favorable.<sup>1</sup>

The last of the operatic battles of the century reached its climax in the feud between Gluck and Niccolò Piccinni (1728-1800). While there was a measure of personal friction which stemmed from the award of the scoring of the opera, Roland, to Piccinni, the more sensitive followers of the Parisian operatic scene realized that clear areas of dispute between French and Italian idioms no longer existed. A letter from the librettist Marmontel to a Monsieur de la Harpe printed in the Mercure de France in September, 1778, praised Piccinni's ability to convey musically the sense of the word, likewise a stated aim of Gluck's. The writer also set apart the French opéra-comique from Gluck's main area of effort:

The music of La Colonie, of La Bonne Fille, of L'Ami de la Maison, of Zemir et Azor, of Sylvain bear no resemblance to the 'dramatic' music of M. Gluck: it is purely Italian music adapted to French words; for ten years this music has been filling and enriching one of the theaters of Paris: people are not yet tired of it.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The Collected Correspondence, pp. 11-12.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 148.



The presence of many of Europe's most gifted composers in Paris during the Enlightenment and their contributions to the Concert spirituel or the opera attest to the leadership of that city as a musical center. The development of the opéra-comique during the same period brought forth an additional, significant feature. Here was a vehicle which could embody musical excellence and at the same time entertain the less cultivated. Furthermore, the relatively small casts of singers, pit musicians, and stage settings could be moved about or improvised in part in the outlying provinces or overseas colonies.

There had been parodies of serious operas and opera ballets during the preceding century. But the term opéra-comique appeared first in 1715 as a subtitle on the announcements for Télémaque, a parody on the romantic epic by Fénelon. La Sage and Fuzelier wrote the text and Jean Claude Gilliers (1667-1737) provided the music and organized the orchestra. Instrumentation included eight violins, one contrabass, one flute, one oboe, one bassoon, and two horns.<sup>1</sup>

Parodies on serious opera, vaudevilles, and comédie mêlée de chansons were among the types of musical entertainment employed in the théâtre de la foire, the theater of the fair, in the late seventeenth century. The Foire de Saint-Germain, where the Gilliers work mentioned above received its initial performance, appealed to

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<sup>1</sup>Emile Genest, L'Opéra-Comique Connue et Inconnue (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1925), p. 67.

students and the aristocracy. The Foire de Saint-Laurent featured entertainment for the middle and lower classes. Programs included rope dancers, acrobats, marionettes, and live animals.

The early opéra-comique therefore did not enjoy a position of social prestige as did the Italian intermezzo, inserted as the latter was between the acts of serious opera. But the more democratic base of the French medium contributed to its wider popularity prior to and following the French Revolution. The encyclopedists praised it. Rousseau's Devin du Village marked that writer's entry into the field of light opera composition. When Favart's La Chercheuse d'esprit ran for two hundred nights during the spring and summer of 1741, the popularity of opéra-comique and that librettist-composer was assured.

Favart and his wife, herself a singer and actress, organized a traveling company to entertain French troops campaigning in Flanders. Their return to Paris in 1750 marked the beginning of a twenty-year period of success in musical and theatrical entertainment. Favart became director of the opéra-comique in 1758, and his organization merged with the comédie-Italienne in 1762. The present-day opéra-comique in Paris, occupying its two hundred year-old site, is still known as the "Salle Favart."<sup>1</sup>

The French form of the comic opera had already gained a following by the time Italian companies began staging opera buffa in Paris around 1740. Egidio Romaldo Duni (1709-1775) brought a troupe

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<sup>1</sup>Roy McMullen, "New Look for the Opera Comique," Hi Fi and Musical America, XV (July, 1965), 116-117.

to Paris and London in 1743. A performance in 1746 of La Serva Padrona by Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710-1736), met with limited success in Paris, perhaps because of nationalist feelings or inadequate public relations. By the time this same work played again in Paris in 1752, Rousseau, Grimm, and other writers had punctured the air of self-righteousness that surrounded much of serious French music. A boost for light opera generally, whether French or Italian, resulted, and the year 1752 serves as the historical marker for the arrival of the buffoons in Paris.<sup>1</sup>

By 1757, Duni had settled more or less permanently in Paris. Demonstrating the compatibility of Italian and French elements in light music, the composer worked with the librettist Anseaume on the comic opera, Le Peintre amoureux de son modele. Patrons of the Foire Saint-Laurent applauded the work, and Duni went on to compose some twenty in the same idiom.<sup>2</sup>

A younger brother in the Philidor family, Francois Andre Danican (1726-1795), composed many works in the popular operatic form. He visited England and had published there a book on chess. Upon his return to France in the 1760's, Philidor's light operas began to reveal traces of social reform similar to the sequential paintings of Hogarth. His Tom Jones, an adaptation of the Fielding novel, was well received in the Caribbean colonies following successful performances in Paris. Pre-revolutionary social consciousness found an

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<sup>1</sup>Renee Girardon, "Frankreich," col. 771.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., col. 772.

outlet in musical entertainment from the best composers of the period. Both Paisiello and Mozart made use of the libretto by Beaumarchais, The Marriage of Figaro, and the character of the unprincipled count became a popular stereotype.

In literature as in the musical theater, the theme of the middle-class tragedy grew in popularity during the two decades prior to Bastille Day. Since many of the colonial planters were originally from the middle classes, they enjoyed the flashes of satire dealt out to the nobility in the thinly disguised situations around which many comic operas were built.

One of the first operas performed in Saint-Domingue was a version of Pierre René Lemonnier's libretto, le Cadi dupé.<sup>1</sup> The action features a domineering caliph, who becomes enamored of a working man's wife. The small cast employs any number of maneuvers to foil the caliph's intentions and pair him with a homely, but available, substitute.

While Gluck was engaged in his efforts toward operatic reform in Paris during the 1770's, Andre Ernest Grétry (1741-1813), Nicolas Dalayrac (1753-1809), Jean B. de la Borde (1734-1794), and others composed pieces in a lighter vein for the musical theater. Grétry's Richard Coeur de Lion made use of historical action for a light opera. His Silvain or Eraste et Lucinde, performed first at the Salle Favart in 1770, became popular in the larger towns in Saint-Domingue within the decade. The same one-act work was among the first operas to be

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<sup>1</sup>Probable composer, newspaper announcements and dates are discussed in Chapter IV.

performed in New Orleans, according to the letters of Baron Pontalba to his wife.<sup>1</sup>

The small piece for the musical theater further brought about the discovery of Madame Dugazon (1755-1821), the best known singer of French light opera to follow Madame Favart. Madame Dugazon, wife of the actor and writer Jean Baptiste Henri Gourgault, made her operatic debut in Silvain in 1774. She became so much a part of the Parisian light opera scene that the terms "young Dugazon" and "Mother Dugazon" came into use to describe the roles in which she excelled. Her most famous part was the title role in Dalayrac's Nina or La Folle par Amour. As theatrical quality improved in Saint-Domingue, this same role served as a vehicle for Madame Marsan of the Cap Français theater to emerge as the leading actress and singer in the colony.<sup>2</sup>

Following Gluck's departure from Paris in 1779, Méhul and Gossec attempted to incorporate some of the reforms into the opéra-comique. Both were more serious musicians than Monsigny, Grétry, and other earlier writers of operetta had been. But the French Revolution interrupted their period of creativity for the remainder of the eighteenth century. By 1791, the spirit of upheaval had reached the wealthy sugar colony of Saint-Domingue in the form of a black revolution, and its role as a channel of French influence in the New World came to an end.

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<sup>1</sup>Rene J. Le Gardeur, Jr., The First New Orleans Theatre 1792-1803 (New Orleans: Leeward Books, 1963), pp. 21-22.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 26-27.

CHAPTER IV  
THEATERS AND MUSICAL PERFORMANCES  
IN SAINT-DOMINGUE

Eight towns and cities in Saint-Domingue sponsored construction of theaters or adapted other buildings for use as playhouses. These included Cap-Français, now Cap Hatien, located on the island's northern coast; Port-au-Prince and Saint-Marc, both facing the island's western gulf; and the smaller ports of Léogâne, Petit-Goâve, Jérémie, Jacmé, and les Cayes, the last five ringing the island's southern peninsula (Plate, p. 41).

Cap-Français

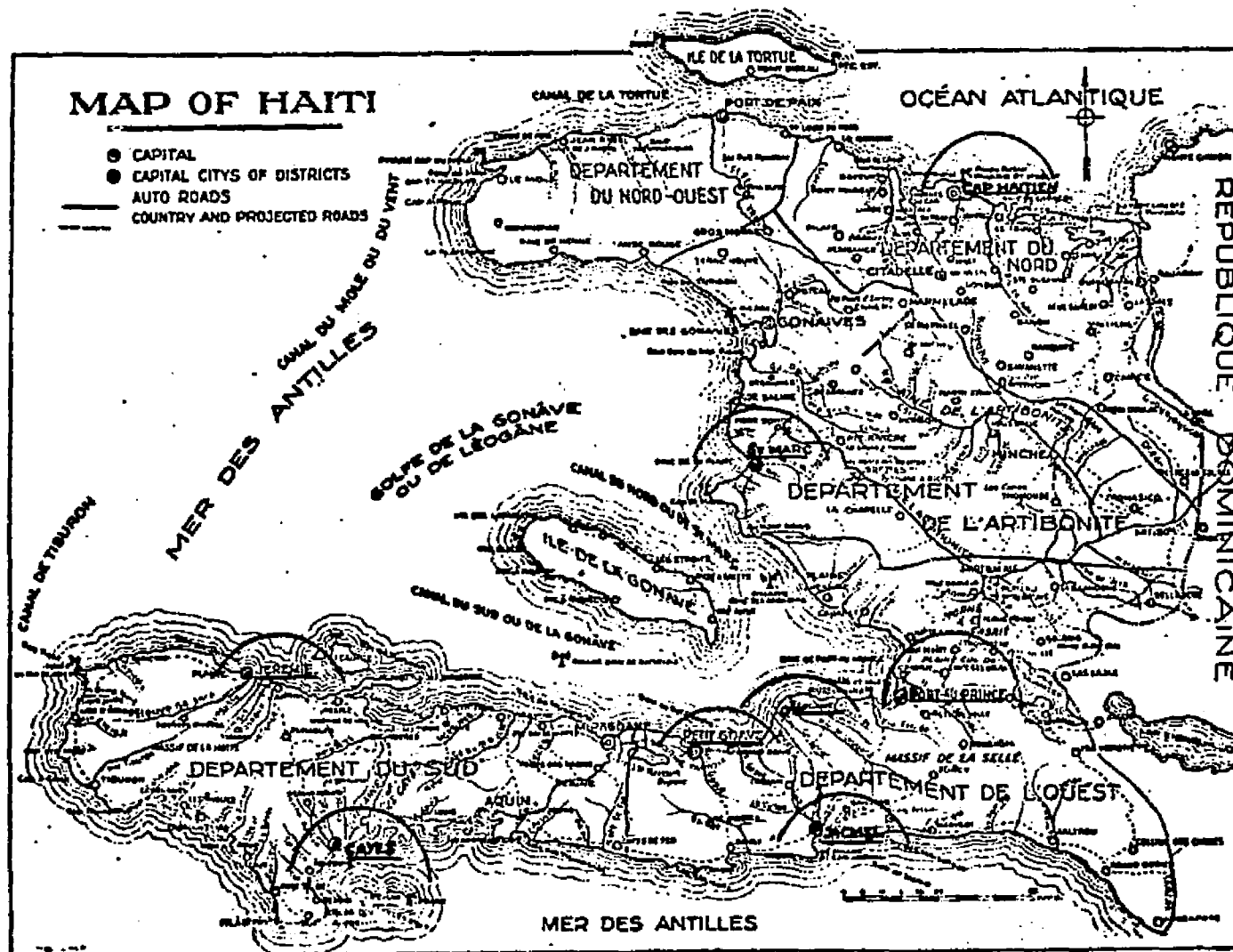
The earliest theatrical activity in the colony began around 1740, when amateur groups performed plays in some of the larger residences at Cap-Français. In 1743, sixty persons responded to a subscription to support a series of presentations. On February 23, 1744, the colony's first theatrical season opened in a large house at the southeast corner of the intersection of Notre Dame and Royale streets in Cap-Français.<sup>1</sup>

At the time, the city had only a few paved streets. These

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<sup>1</sup>Moreau de Saint-Méry, Description de la Partie Française de l'Île Saint-Domingue, 3 Vols. (Paris: Société de l'Histoire des colonies Françaises, 1958), I, 343-344.

# PLATE



sloped toward lowered centers, about six feet on each side, thus forming a gutter in the middle of the street. Heavy rains and earthquakes caused the colonists to seek stronger building materials for residences and public buildings. By 1740, earlier wooden structures were being replaced by masonry. One description of the period noted a predominance of white walls, black foundations, and yellow window frames.<sup>1</sup>

Little about the quality of the early theatrical productions is known, but the renewal of the first subscription noted above indicates sustained interest on the part of the patrons. In 1764, theater supporters decided to move the playhouse at Cap-Français into a building located at the northeast corner of the juncture of Vaudreuil and Saint-Pierre streets. Here the first public musical performances in Saint-Domingue took place, insofar as can be determined by newspaper announcements. Rousseau's Le Devin du village received a performance on June 6, 1764, and a version of Le Cadi dupé appeared October 24 of the same year.<sup>2</sup>

Both Pierre Alexandre Monsigny (1729-1817), and Gluck had composed musical settings for the latter work in 1761. Since Gluck had not yet come to the French capital to pursue his operatic reforms, the presentation in Cap-Français' newly located theater was probably the Monsigny version. The newspaper announcement appearing in Avis Divers

<sup>1</sup> Saint-Méry, Description, Vol. I, p. 300.

<sup>2</sup> Jean Fouchard, Artistes et Répertoire des Scènes de Saint-Domingue (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie de L'Etat, 1955), p. 93.



et Petites Affiches Américaines on October 24, 1764, names neither composer nor librettist, but states that the work was well-received in France:

On donnera aujourd'hui à la comédie du Cap le Cadi dupé opéra bouffon: cette pièce a été généralement applaudie en France; elle sera suivie d'un grand Ballet Turc de la composition du Sr. Armeri.

Sr. Armeri, composer of the ballet mentioned in the announcement, had apparently resided in Cap-Français for several years. Historian Moreau de Saint-Méry also identifies a singer and actress, Mme. Mentet, as a member of the group of performers at the theater's first location.<sup>1</sup> Thus professionals from France joined with local talent during the early years of the theater at Cap-Français. The presence of singers and dancers along with actors and actresses in the city evidences some type of musical activity there prior to the press announcements of 1764.

Critical writings on music and drama did not appear in colonial newspapers until 1785.<sup>2</sup> Hence any observations as to the quality of the early presentations must be drawn from scattered recollections and writings. While visiting Paris, the colony's governor-general, M. de Bory, recalled that he had seen Rousseau at the café de la Régence and had said to him, "I saw your Devin du Village performed at Cap-Français."

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<sup>1</sup>Saint-Méry, Description, Vol. I, p. 361.

<sup>2</sup>Jean Fouchard, Le Théâtre à Saint-Domingue (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie de L'Etat, 1955), p. 202.

"So much the worse for you," was Rousseau's reply, according to de Bory. Since the encyclopedist had not witnessed the performance that Governor de Bory had mentioned, he was probably voicing his displeasure over the quality of amateur or provincial productions in general.<sup>1</sup>

A French visitor to Saint-Domingue in the 1760's, Bruey d'Aigalliers, referred to the theatrical efforts there in a manuscript, "Descriptions et Relations diverses," preserved as Manuscript No. G. 278, Bibliotheque de Versailles. The observer noted that the theater was apparently one of the more recently established forms of entertainment in the colony at the time of his visit. He said only two or three of the principal towns possessed facilities in which to present plays. Then he entered a poetic description in his writing which reflects the quality of those performances:

Le rebut de l'histrionage  
 Las d'être ailleurs, hue, sifflé,  
 Vient s'étaler sur cette plage,  
 Toujours ou plat ou boursouflé,  
 Et toujours à voix haute à chaque vers soufflé,  
 Acteurs dont l'amour-propre égale l'ignorance,  
 Se croyant sottement dignes d'être applaudis,  
 Ils sont sans naturel, sans grace, sans aissance,  
 De Melpomene enfants maudits:  
 Et d'un ton cadence manquant à la césure;  
 Des grands vers leur emphase accourcit la mesure,  
 Et leur courte mémoire allonge les petits.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Saint-Méry, Description, Vol. I, p. 344.

<sup>2</sup> Fouchard, Le Théâtre, p. 8.

Casting aside all rules of drama  
 Weary, otherwise booed or hissed,  
 They come to act upon these shores;  
 Always flat in puffed-up manner,  
 And with loud projection for each blown line,  
 They are actors who equate pride and ignorance,  
 They feel they earn the viewers' applause;  
 Falsely assured, without grace or skill,  
 These bad children of the Tragic Muse,  
 Their cadenced tones break proper pauses:  
 They rush their longer verses through,  
 While their short memories prolong the shorter.<sup>1</sup>

The substance of the above criticism compares to the opinions expressed by Madame Pontalba in a letter to Madame Miro regarding the early theater in New Orleans. Madame Pontalba had attended a performance during the initial season of the city's first public theater, and she wrote the following account to Madame Miro:

I went to the theatre. The actors are Henry, Clereti the milliner who made your hat, and several others of that description. You cannot hear what the women say, and it would be better for the men if they were not heard, because they mumble: the prompter speaks louder than they do. I cannot give you a better comparison of this theater than (to say) that it is like that of the soldiers.<sup>2</sup>

The correspondence is dated November 3, 1792. While the d'Aigalliers manuscript describes the quality of the theater in Cap-Francais approximately three decades earlier, the situations are similar. Both descriptions apply to French colonial theatrical efforts in their infancy.

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<sup>1</sup>Translation worded to include technical dramatic references, courtesy Dr. Carlos Fandal, chairman, Foreign Languages Department, Northeast Louisiana University.

<sup>2</sup>Rene J. Le Gardeur, Jr., The First New Orleans Theatre 1792-1803 (New Orleans: Leeward Books, 1963), p. 6.

The Gazette de Saint-Domingue, founded in 1764, brought increasing public attention to theatrical and musical events. For two decades, the colony's press made little or no attempt to criticize performances but adhered to brief announcements of coming attractions. By 1785, however, Charles Mozard, publisher of the Affiches Américains in Port-au-Prince, began to take an active interest in the theater there. His criticism of the play by Beaumarchais, The Marriage of Figaro, took issue with the unrealistic choice of costumes for the work. He noted that the theater director, Monsieur Acquisire, "did not have the knowledge nor the advice of Beaumarchais" in the selection of costumes for the beginning of the second act. Mozard wrote that a man preparing to go on a hunt was dressed in the grand manner of court and appeared more like an Andalusian judge.<sup>1</sup>

The publisher-critic continued his campaign for more appropriate costumes into the following year. In June, 1786, he wrote that someone had started a fund for prizes for the actor or actress who had most closely observed tasteful stage dress over the course of a year. An additional prize, Mozard continued, would be given annually to that author who could most highly praise an actress when she stopped wearing gauze and taffeta in the role of a peasant.

On the other hand, Mozard was ready to recognize improvement and offer appropriate comment when it occurred. His newspaper noted the marked degree of success which the theater had achieved in 1787.

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<sup>1</sup>Fouchard, Le Théâtre, p. 203.

Mozard also published highly favorable accounts of the theatrical and vocal talents of the soprano Minette, a young "person of color" who rose to fame in Port-au-Prince during the 1780's.<sup>1</sup>

Theater directors made use of the press at this time to clarify public opinion relating to productions and difficulties in performances. Monsieur Dubuisson of the Comédie du Cap spoke out in strong terms about the injustice stemming from a scandal connected with one of his performances. The newspaper Affiches Américaines carried his remarks in the February 10, 1787, issue. One month later, a letter to the editor from an admirer of the actress-singer, Madame Marsan, appeared:

Permit me, Sir, to take advantage of this opportunity to do homage to that adorable actress. If she were at the Theatre Italien, her name would be as famous as that of Dugazon, the elder Sainval, Contat, and others like them; for Mme. Marsan possesses in an eminent degree the talent for high comedy and for comic opera. Let anyone try to name an actress who can, like her, play in a single night, and with such perfection "Elmire" in Tartuffe and the title role in La Servante Maîtresse, "Babet" and the "Gouvernante," "Rosalie" in Jenneval and "Clementine" in Le Magnifique.<sup>2</sup>

Directors' posts changed often in those colonial centers which supported theaters. A former actor, Monsieur Charpentier, directed many of the presentations in Cap-Français. When the theater was relocated in 1764, a Monsieur Chinon, also formerly an actor, became director and administrator.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Fouchard, Le Théâtre, p. 205.

<sup>2</sup>Le Gardeur, The First New Orleans Theatre, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup>Saint-Méry, Description, Vol. I, pp. 356-357.

The severe earthquake of June 3, 1770, destroyed or damaged many buildings in Cap-Français and elsewhere in Saint-Domingue. But before a year had elapsed, the theater had resumed activities. On March 25, 1771, a board of directors took charge of administrative matters. In 1773, five principal actors and an actress, Monet, Duchainet, Dubuisson, Desforages, and Demoiselle Dezi, arrived from France.<sup>1</sup>

Jean Baptiste le Sieur Fontaine settled at Cap-Français in 1775 and became a director of the theater shortly thereafter. He led the Comédie du Cap through its most successful years then fled in 1793 because of the slave uprisings. He lived in several North American cities including New York before making New Orleans his permanent residence after 1795.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to music theater, residents of the colonial cities had opportunities to hear concerts of sacred and secular music. The military bands from militia units at Cap-Français, Port-au-Prince, Saint-Marc, and Léogâne presented occasional concerts. The newspaper Avis du Cap of March 15, 1769, included the announcement that the "dames de la ville et de la plaine" would present a "concert spirituel" on three occasions during the Easter season at the Cap-Français theater. No names of composers or performers were listed, but the announcement stated that the musicians would play

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<sup>1</sup>Fouchard, Le Théâtre, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup>Le Gardeur, The First New Orleans Theatre, p. 24.

motets and symphonies.

In addition to the interest in music shown by the women and girls of the colony, there is evidence of serious music study among the slaves. The Gazette de Saint-Domingue of February 15, 1764, included a notice placed by a Sieur Tasset, "musicien au Cap," who was selling three Negro slaves prior to his departure for France. According to the advertisement, two of the Negroes, aged sixteen or seventeen years, were able to read music equally well in all keys. Since Tasset taught violin and performed on his instrument in the theater orchestra, one may presume he had given the young slaves violin lessons. The notice stated further that the two had learned their parts for a concert as well as for operas performed at Cap-Francais. The third slave listed in M. Tasset's advertisement was said to be younger than the other two. He could "play a little on the violin and knew something of music," according to the teacher.<sup>1</sup>

Musical and artistic interest in a community is reflected in the business climate. In 1789, the total population of Saint-Domingue reached 40,000 white persons and 28,000 affranchis, who were mostly of mixed French and African blood. The 452,000 slaves in the colony comprised a powerful numerical majority but were unable to support the economy in any area beyond the basic needs purchased for

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<sup>1</sup>Jean Fouchard, Les Marrons du Syllabaire (Port-au-Prince: H. Deschamps, 1953), p. 62.

their upkeep.<sup>1</sup>

Thus fewer than 70,000 persons divided among three fairly large cities, five smaller ones, and numerous plantation settlements made up that portion of the population which could support a market of luxury items. Yet merchants specializing in musical instruments appeared in numbers in Saint-Domingue's cities as early as 1770.

A Monsieur Noël, whose shop was located on Bourbon Street in Cap-Français, advertised musical instruments that year as well as "separate arias and selections from new operas." Monsieur Bargues, a music teacher with a studio on Dauphine Street in Cap-Français sold violins, flutes, spinets, and violin strings. Private teachers in the city during the two decades of musical flourish (1770-1790) included Picourt, flute; d'Imbert, mandolin; Gand, lute; de Fligre, violin; M. and Mme. Vergnes, also M. and Mme. Caille, who operated family music schools.<sup>2</sup>

Featured often at the Comédie du Cap was the dancer, Armerie, who arranged ballets for the stage and headed a school for dancing at Cap-Français.<sup>3</sup> Armerie arrived in the city prior to 1764 and remained there until 1785.

Monsieur Colette (Collet), husband of an actress at Leogane,

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<sup>1</sup>James Leyburn, The Haitian People (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), p. 18.

<sup>2</sup>Jean Fouchard, Plaisirs de Saint-Domingue (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie de l'Etat, 1955), p. 67.

<sup>3</sup>Appendix: October 24, 1764; November 27, 1765; etc.



taught dancing at Cap-Français and established dancing classes at Port-au-Prince and Léogâne.<sup>1</sup>

The list of musical productions appearing in the Appendix suggests the amount of activity in the colony's theaters. Further, the eagerness of theater-goers to see and hear new works is shown by the short periods between the Paris premier and first Cap-Français performances of certain light operas.<sup>2</sup>

But the spirit of the market place theater, the common touch of the arts, continued to outweigh urban sophistication. The Cap-Français newspaper, Avis du Cap, October 24, 1768, devoted a lengthy description of an announced attraction, la Naissance des arts ou les Bienfits d'Apollon sur la terre. Sr. Armerie staged the work, a "heroic, pastoral ballet," and performers were members of his dancing class.

On March 21, 1782, at Cap-Français, a Monsieur Bellecombe arranged a day-long festival honoring the Spanish commander, Galvez, who was paying a visit of state to the local French officials. The schedule included cannon salutes from the ships in the harbor, military parades, a banquet, the illumination of government buildings, and a grand ball at the Salle de la Comédie that lasted until the early morning of the following day.<sup>3</sup> While the account gave no

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<sup>1</sup>Affiches Américaines, December 21, 1774.

<sup>2</sup>Appendix: October 17, 1770, Silvain.

<sup>3</sup>Affiches Américaines, March 27, 1782, pp. 1-2.

details as to the music used for the parades or the balls, the entire description embodies the vitality of the French creole spirit and expectations regarding public performance generally.

In August, 1791, the burning of the rural northern plain of Saint-Domingue by bands of runaway slaves and their massacre of the French plantation owners and their families signalled the end of the colonial way of life on the island. By November of that year, the bands called Macaya and Pierrot had reduced Cap-Français along with its 1,500-seat theater to ashes. The French Commissioner Sonthonax and the early Haitian military leaders, Toussaint Louverture and Jean-Jacques Dessalines, tried to institute politically oriented performances in several localities, but these enjoyed no great degree of success.<sup>1</sup>

#### Port-au-Prince

The present capital of Haiti was named in honor of a ship in d'Iberville's fleet, the Prince, which anchored in the harbor in 1706, prior to a naval encounter with the British.<sup>2</sup> At the time, there was no town on the site, but local plantation owners made recommendations as to the desirability. Later in the century, Governor de Conflans and Monsieur Maillard, an adviser to King Louis XV,

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<sup>1</sup>Fouchard, Le Théâtre, pp. 33-35.

<sup>2</sup>Pan American Union, Organization of American States, American Republics Series No. 12, Haiti (Washington: n. p., 1969), p. 6.

received permission to plan and construct a new city at that location to serve as the capital of the French Windward Isles. Work began in April, 1750, on the wide streets and buildings that were to house government offices. Until this period in the colony's history, Léogâne had served as the official capital and Cap-Français was the largest city with the most active cultural life.

Neither the ruinous earthquake of November, 1751, nor the hurricane of June, 1753, dampened the builders' enthusiasm, and the new city continued to grow. By 1764, there were 683 houses.

Another tremor in June, 1770, killed two hundred persons and destroyed a seventeen-year construction program. The architect, Louis Florent de Vallieres, took charge of reconstruction. He made use of wood for most of the buildings and reserved heavy masonry for retaining walls and fences.<sup>1</sup>

Theatrical life in the new city developed slowly, probably because of the constant building and rebuilding. A French visitor to Port-au-Prince in the 1760's, a Monsieur Maloumet, described the first theater in the city as comparable to a barn furnished with benches and straw mats. A carpenter, Monsieur de Saint-Rome, added more loges to the sixty-two-foot structure in 1762.<sup>2</sup>

Rouzier became director of the Port-au-Prince theater that same year and hired Claude Clément, a native of Cap-Français, as lead

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<sup>1</sup>Fouchard, Le Théâtre, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

actor and assistant director. Another assistant, Monsieur Charpentier, alternated with Clément in managing this early phase of the new capital's theater, but the enterprise did not survive. The building and all its effects was advertised for sale "for cash, slaves, goods or credits" in 1768.<sup>1</sup>

More consistent growth in the musical and theatrical life of Port-au-Prince followed the earthquake of 1770. Early in that decade, members of the troupe from Léogâne appeared in the city and were well received. The military unit at Fort Saint-Joseph opened its auditorium on occasions to the public for instrumental and vocal concerts.<sup>2</sup>

In 1775, a Monsieur Jenot promoted several plays and a comic opera or vers mêlée d'ariettes entitled Fête d'Amour ou Lucas et Colinette, based on a text by Favart. In 1777, François Saint-Martin became director at Port-au-Prince and moved the theater to 103 Saint-Philippe Street.<sup>3</sup>

The capital's theatrical life received its greatest boost from a Monsieur François Mesplès, who appropriated a 750-seat playhouse in 1778. Following this year, citizens of Port-au-Prince enjoyed regular seasons of drama, opera, and music until the slave uprisings of 1791.

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<sup>1</sup>Gazette de Saint-Domingue, June 15, 1768.

<sup>2</sup>Affiches Américaines, March 9, 1774.

<sup>3</sup>Fouchard, Le Théâtre, pp. 46-47.

An expansion program following a series of newspaper question-and-answer promotions resulted in a stock company consisting of eight actors, eight actresses, eleven musicians, a prompter, a stage manager, a decorator, a tailor, a hairdresser, four porters, and a clerk.<sup>1</sup>

Keen audience interest in the theater at this time is evidenced by the following newspaper advertisement. The Imprimerie Royale of Port-au-Prince offered for sale twenty-six printed pieces for the theater, eight of which were libretti of operas and light operas.<sup>2</sup>

Following Saint-Martin's death in 1784, a native of Saint-Domingue, Monsieur Acquaire, became theater director. His wife, thought to be the actress, Mlle. Babet of the Port-au-Prince and Petit-Goave theater troupes, gave lessons in voice and stage presence to the quadroon soprano Minette. This young woman, a native of Port-au-Prince, was destined to rival Madame Marsan of the Cap-Français company as Saint-Domingue's favorite singer.<sup>3</sup> Mme. Acquaire left the colony in 1786 and probably returned to France.

In the field of instrumental performance, a Monsieur Petit, first violinist of the Port-au-Prince theater orchestra, played solos on several occasions. At a benefit concert in his behalf, the city's

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<sup>1</sup>Fouchard, Le Théâtre, pp. 64-65.

<sup>2</sup>Affiches Américaines, October 19, 1768, p. 344.

<sup>3</sup>Fouchard, Le Théâtre, p. 307. C.f. Chapter V.

theatrical company performed Duni's La Fée Urgèle, and the violinist himself played a concerto by his former teacher, G. M. Jarnowick (1745-1804).<sup>1</sup> Petit managed to escape from the colony at the time of the uprisings and settled in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1795 or 1796.<sup>2</sup>

Leaning more in the direction of vaudeville was the benefit performance for Monsieur Fligre, a musician of the Port-au-Prince troupe, held February 5, 1782. The main work of the evening was La Prise de Grenade, a divertissement in two acts, featuring prose mixed with songs and dances. A two-act opéra-comique, L'Amitié a L'Épreuve, by Grétry followed. Fligre himself performed on the clarinet, violin, harp, and clavecin during the intermission between the two stage pieces.<sup>3</sup>

Acquaire stepped down as director of the Port-au-Prince theater in 1791 in favor of a Monsieur Blainville. The new leadership made special efforts to use the theater as a means of reconciling the social ruptures which had spread to the colony as a result of the French Revolution. But the fury of the slave uprisings increased in intensity during the late summer months of that year and surpassed all other social ills in the wealthy sugar colony. With performances scheduled and rehearsed and audiences ready to attend,

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<sup>1</sup>Fouchard, Artistes et Répertoire, p. 183.

<sup>2</sup>Eola Willis, The Charleston Stage in the XVIII Century (Columbia, S. C.: The State Co., 1924), p. 290.

<sup>3</sup>Supplément des Affiches Américaines, February 2, 1782, p. 1.

Port-au-Prince's Salle Mesplès disappeared in the inferno of revolution that destroyed the city on the night of November 22, 1791.<sup>1</sup>

### Saint-Marc

The theater at Saint-Marc, the second largest city of colonial Saint-Domingue, began by accident. Two actors from the Cap-Francais troupe, Charron and Goulart, had made arrangements to perform at Port-au-Prince during March, 1767. This was a period of uncertainty for the capital city's theater, so the actors scheduled a performance in a temporary barracks hall at Saint-Marc. The audience proved to be more receptive than the actors had anticipated, and the 400-seat, improvised playhouse continued operations.<sup>2</sup>

An opera by Vadé, Les Raccoleurs, performed in February, 1769, probably introduced musical theater to Saint-Marc.<sup>3</sup> A Monsieur Duval was named director that same year, but an actress from Port-au-Prince, Mlle. Marthe, bought the concession and directed the theater herself. Her associate in the arrangement, unique in the colony, was another actress, Mlle. Francheville.

The earthquake that left most of Saint-Domingue in ruins in June, 1770, struck Saint-Marc during a performance of Rousseau's le Devin du Village. Sponsors of the theater lost no time in securing

<sup>1</sup>Fouchard, Le Théâtre, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup>Saint-Méry, Description, Vol. II, pp. 879-880.

<sup>3</sup>Affiches Américaines, February 22, 1769.

funds and buying a site for a new theater building. In the meantime, however, the directors continued to schedule the comedies and light operas in a large tent.<sup>1</sup>

Saint-Marc's new theater, completed in 1773, seated approximately 500. The historian of the time, Moreau de Saint-Méry, recorded its specifications as ninety feet in length, fifty feet in width, with two ranks of loges.<sup>2</sup> Interest in the theater continued strong throughout the period 1773-1787. Then, under the direction of a Monsieur Pons, difficulties appeared to arise. Legitimate plays and light operas gave way to troupes of vaudeville showmen and amateur actors after 1788. The city, with its public buildings, military installations, shops, and houses was ordered burned by the Negro general, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, in February, 1802.<sup>3</sup>

### Léogâne

No longer a leading Haitian city, Léogâne possesses a history dating to pre-Columbian Indian times.<sup>4</sup> During the French colonial period, the locality served several times as Saint-Domingue's capital.

The first theatrical entertainment at Léogâne came from Port-au-Prince during the 1760's. A Monsieur Passete (de Pastey) served

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<sup>1</sup>Fouchard, Le Théâtre, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup>Saint-Méry, Description, Vol. II, p. 882.

<sup>3</sup>Fouchard, Le Théâtre, p. 85.

<sup>4</sup>Chapter I, p. 4.



as Léogâne's theatrical director for more than a year during this period. In 1770, when Passeté had joined the company at Saint-Marc, he brought some of the first light opera to Léogâne. A Monsieur Vergne from the Port-au-Prince troupe also brought theatrical attractions to the city.<sup>1</sup>

In January, 1786, the younger sister of the quadroon soprano Minette of the Port-au-Prince theater performed at Léogâne. At this time, a Monsieur Labbé, a free person of color from the area, had organized a company of entertainers. The work featuring Lise, the sister of the soprano, Minette, bore the title, les Amours de Mire-balais, and is thought to have been a parody in creole dialect based on Rousseau's le Devin du village.<sup>2</sup>

In a description of Labbé's theater, historian Moreau de Saint-Méry included the instrumentation of the pit orchestra: four violins, one trumpet, and one bassoon.<sup>3</sup>

In 1788, the director of the theatrical company at Leogane advertised for sale his 400-seat hall with its music, scenery, and costumes. Whether his apparently sudden decision stemmed from racial tensions, financial difficulties, or other causes is not known. Labbé's name is not mentioned as promoter or sponsor of the last publicized attraction to appear in Léogâne, namely, les Grands

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<sup>1</sup>Saint-Méry, Description, Vol. II, p. 1099.

<sup>2</sup>Fouchard, Le Théâtre, p. 281.

<sup>3</sup>Saint-Méry, Description, Vol. II, p. 1100.

Danseurs et Sauteurs du Roi. The troupe scheduled two dates, July 8 and 11, 1789.<sup>1</sup>

### Les Cayes

The port on the southwestern coast of the island, Les Cayes, parallels the dates of construction of early New Orleans landmarks. Both of the French colonial towns began building their churches in the early 1720's. As a result of a citizens' petition for a theater in May, 1765, Monsieur Charpentier of the Port-au-Prince company came to Les Cayes to serve as director. A short time later, Monsieur Juville, then working in Cap-Français, assumed the director's post.<sup>2</sup>

The newspaper Avis du Cap on October 5, 1768, carried an appeal from "le Sieur Lemery, entrepreneur de la Comédie des Cayes," which stated that the public wished him to increase the size of his company. Lemery requested that actors and actresses in the colony correspond with him and state their terms.

Mlle. Francheville, who had served as assistant to Mlle. Marthe at Saint-Marc, and a Monsieur Duval, a musician from that same city, came to Les Cayes in the early 1770's. Interest in the theater appeared to decline shortly thereafter, and two local directors, La Mothe and Fleury, took charge.

In March, 1783, the theater scheduled two light operas,

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<sup>1</sup>Fouchard, Le Théâtre, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup>Saint-Méry, Description, Vol. III, p. 1308.

Julie, by Monval, and la Belle Arsene, by Monsigny. During that same year, Saint-Martin from the Port-au-Prince theater directed some of the performances at Les Cayes.<sup>1</sup>

Under the direction of Monsieur and Madame Caze, the theater inaugurated an appeal for funds in 1785. The money was apparently sufficient to pay previous debts, and a full repertory of eight plays and as many light operas was announced for May of that year.

The increase in activity resulted in plans for construction of a new theater which would seat approximately 500 persons.<sup>2</sup> But at a time when theatrical life in Port-au-Prince and Cap-Français was flourishing, the quest for entertainment in the smaller towns slackened. There are no announcements in the press or elsewhere which tell of the degree of success the theater at Les Cayes may have enjoyed after the completion of its new quarters in 1788.

### Jérémie

Like Port-au-Prince, Jérémie was a small harbor community until residents in the area began pursuing a plan for city construction in 1756. Severe hurricanes in 1772 and 1775 drove numbers of its citizens to smaller settlements nearby.

In 1787, a Monsieur Colans solicited among the 150 members of the town's Vaux-Hall for funds to furnish a comédie bourgeois. A

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<sup>1</sup>Fouchard, Le Théâtre, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup>Saint-Méry, Description, Vol. III, p. 1309.

residence was converted and Colans was appointed manager of the theater.<sup>1</sup>

As late as 1804, General Jean-Jacques Dessalines visited Jérémie and enjoyed the dancing performances of two white actresses living there. These could have been refugees from any of the other companies or residents of the town who somehow survived the massacres of the 1790's.<sup>2</sup>

#### Petit-Goâve and Jacmé

These two towns, situated about thirty miles apart but on opposite sides of the island's southern peninsula, appear to have undertaken theatrical and musical performances with mostly local personnel participating. An announcement in Affiches Américaines on June 18, 1777, stated that Beaumarchais' Barbier de Seville, and l'Erreur d'un moment, a one-act opera by Monvel, would be performed at Petit-Goâve for the benefit of Mlle. Babet. Two local amateurs were scheduled to play prominent parts in both productions, indicating that Mlle. Babet probably organized and directed non-professional performances in the town. About this time she is believed to have married Acquaire, the creole director of the Port-au-Prince theater.<sup>3</sup>

There is less factual evidence that Jacmé possessed a

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<sup>1</sup>Saint-Méry, Description, Vol. III, p. 1385.

<sup>2</sup>Fouchard, Le Théâtre, p. 111.

<sup>3</sup>Fouchard, Artistes et Répertoire, p. 5.

functioning theatrical or musical organization. The newspaper Affiches Américaines of August 20, 1785, noted that a Monsieur Galois had held a meeting during the previous week to promote the building of a playhouse. A short play held in connection with the meeting serves as the only specific production ever publicized from this town on the peninsula's southern coast.<sup>1</sup>

Located across a mountain range from the cities and towns along the Gulf of Gonave, Jacmé<sup>1</sup> possibly remained apart from the prevailing theatrical modes of the late colonial period.

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<sup>1</sup>The play was entitled, On fait ce qu'on peut et non qu'on veut, with no author named.

## CHAPTER V

### INFLUENTIAL MUSICIANS FROM SAINT-DOMINGUE'S CITIES

Several historians have referred to musical performers, composers, and ballet choreographers who lived and worked in Saint-Domingue during the late eighteenth century. Eola Willis, Oscar Sonneck, and Lewis P. Waldo are among those writers who identified persons as having come to the United States from Saint-Domingue. Following such identification, the historians proceeded to trace the development of concert and theatrical life in early United States history.

Rene J. Le Gardeur, Jr., of New Orleans has traced the growth of theater and opera in his city during the decade prior to the Louisiana Purchase. In so doing, he included background information on individual performers, especially the quality of their performances in France or Saint-Domingue.

Jean Fouchard, the Haitian historian, has compiled a biographical dictionary of more than three hundred names of personnel in the musical and theatrical fields in Saint-Domingue.<sup>1</sup>

Since there was an extensive migration from Saint-Domingue to

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<sup>1</sup>The Dictionnaire des Comédiens de Saint-Domingue occupies the first half of the author's work, Artistes et Répertoire des Scènes de Saint-Domingue.

the United States during the period 1791-1810, these years mark a significant influx of French culture into an English-influenced society. It is the purpose here to select those personalities whose lines of influence best exemplify the early cosmopolitan trends in the cities of the United States. Mention is also made of librettists and composers who made use of local color in the West Indies. Their works, and to a great extent the society that formed their attitudes, disappeared in 1791.

In discussing the early theater along the Atlantic seaboard of the United States, Eola Willis noted there were only five cities of any size around 1800. Sonneck reckoned their population to be: Charleston, 20,473; Philadelphia, 69,403; New York, 60,489; Boston, 24,937; and Baltimore, 26,500.<sup>1</sup>

New Orleans, actually not a part of the United States until 1803, afforded the refugees from Saint-Domingue a logical place of resettlement because of the common French language. There was no hint of an urban atmosphere in the last decade of the eighteenth century. In 1800, New Orleans had a population of only 8,000, including the Negro slaves.<sup>2</sup>

By 1806, however, the population of this southern port had increased to 12,000. Then war between France and Spain caused

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<sup>1</sup>Eola Willis, The Charleston Stage in the XVIII Century (Charleston, S. C.: The State Co., 1924), p. 187.

<sup>2</sup>Oscar G. Sonneck, Early Concert Life in America (New York: Musurgia, 1949), p. 64.

Refugees from Saint-Domingue who had settled in Cuba to look for another place to live. During the four-year period 1806-1810, New Orleans swelled its numbers to 24,552.<sup>1</sup>

This new element of society from the West Indies was sufficient in numbers to effect a love of luxury among the Louisiana French creoles. Prior to 1790, New Orleans creoles had little knowledge of urban culture as known in Saint-Domingue.

#### Jean-Baptiste Le Sueur Fontaine

Fontaine (1742-1814) was born into a musical and theatrical family in Paris. In 1775, he came to Saint-Domingue and worked as an actor in Cap-Français. After five years, he succeeded Desforges as that city's theater director. The theater was having financial difficulties at the time, and Fontaine's energy and personal ability on the stage enabled the organization to recover and offer complete seasons for the subsequent decade.<sup>2</sup>

A musician named Fontaine is mentioned during this same period in the Cap-Français newspaper. Moreau de Saint-Mery identifies this violinist as a brother of Jean-Baptiste Fontaine, though the historian gives no reason for his conclusion. Fontaine the musician arrived in the city in 1775, played violin at the theater where he later became concert master, and performed in ensembles with

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<sup>1</sup>John Smith Kendall, History of New Orleans, 3 Vols. (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1922), I, 85.

<sup>2</sup>Fouchard, Le Théâtre, p. 22.



Monsieur Petit, one of the more influential violinists of the French colonial period.<sup>1</sup>

In 1790, Jean-Baptiste Fontaine apparently had misgivings about the continued security of Saint-Domingue's white population and offered his interest in the theater for sale. He did not leave the colony, however, until 1793. He settled first in New York, then he made his home in New Orleans around 1796. He performed a leading role in de Falbaire's L'Homme Criminel on May 8, 1796. He also became publisher of the newspaper, Moniteur de la Louisiane, in 1797.<sup>2</sup>

Fontaine remained in New Orleans until his death in 1814. His activity in the city's early theatrical life assured a place for music, especially opera, to take root. He was one of several persons who enabled New Orleans to maintain a French tradition in the performing arts long after the city had become a holding of the United States.

#### Madame Marsan

More closely related to the field of music in the early days of the New Orleans theater was Madame Jeanne-Marie Chapizeau Demarsan (1746-1807), who used her husband's name throughout a lengthy dramatic and operatic career.

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<sup>1</sup>Affiches Américaines, February 27, 1782, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Le Gardeur, The First New Orleans Theatre, pp. 24-25.

She married an actor, Pierre Legendre de Marsan (Demarsan) in 1765. He encountered difficulties in France and fled to Martinique. Madame Marsan, after establishing herself as an actress in France, joined her husband in the West Indies in 1775. Following her successful debut performance at the Saint-Pierre, Martinique, theater, Le journal historique et critique des Antilles made this observation in verse:

. . . Les spectateurs surpris  
Se sont crus transportés  
de Saint-Pierre à Paris . . .<sup>1</sup>

In 1780, the Marsan family moved to Cap-Français. Following her husband's death in 1787, Madame Marsan continued a highly successful career for the subsequent thirteen years in drama and serious and light opera. The demanding range of her roles was pointed out in Chapter IV in connection with the theater at Cap-Français.

Le Gardeur deduces that Madame Marsan sang the lead in Grétry's Silvain in New Orleans on May 22, 1796, and that she could have been in the city about a year prior to that date.<sup>2</sup> She apparently retired from the theater in 1800 and died in New Orleans on February 25, 1807.<sup>3</sup>

A product of Parisian light theater and actually growing up in the faubourg Saint-Germain, Madame Marsan performed with great

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<sup>1</sup>Fouchard, Artistes et Répertoire, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup>Le Gardeur, The First New Orleans Theatre, pp. 22, 27.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 28.

dedication at the Cap-Français theater in Saint-Domingue. She came to New Orleans in time to provide a measure of excellence to a relatively new theatrical undertaking in that city. The predominantly French tradition regarding music, theater, and the arts, which has remained alive in New Orleans into the twentieth century stems from the days of Monsieur Fontaine and Madame Marsan.

Desessarts, Madame Durosier, Minette, Lise

Other actors and actresses in New Orleans during the 1790's included Denis Richard Dechanet Desessarts, formerly of Cap-Français, and a Madame Durosier, who served as director of the Louisiana theater in its second year, 1793. The name, Durosier, recalls the Port-au-Prince theater and its male director by that name during its most active years, 1786-1791. There is no record, however, of a Madame Durosier who was active in the theater anywhere in Saint-Domingue. Correspondence between the prominent Spanish families, the Miros and Pontalbas, during this period of New Orleans history reveals that a "good woman singer" (una buena cantora) had been employed and that quadroon actresses would play parts in the theater.<sup>1</sup>

The Port-au-Prince theater director, Durosier, did break precedent and employ actresses and singers of mixed blood. The appearance of that name in the New Orleans theater at about the same

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<sup>1</sup>Le Gardeur, The First New Orleans Theatre, pp. 9-11.

time that the quadron actresses supposedly made their appearance suggests the reforming of a Port-au-Prince troupe. The acclaimed soprano, Minette, discussed in Chapter IV in connection with the Port-au-Prince theater, may have escaped to New Orleans and died there. A Minette Ferrand, said to be a veteran actress (*ancienne artiste*) died there in 1807. On November 19, 1806, the Moniteur de la Louisiane announced a benefit performance for the person named above. The announcement further stated that the actress had been unable to make her debut in New Orleans because of a lengthy illness, a fact indicating she did not perform with the quadron actresses in 1793-1794.<sup>1</sup>

Similar accounts indicate that Lise, the sister of Minette, may have played a part in La Femme Jalouse opposite Fontaine in January, 1808. As in Saint-Domingue, the actress was announced as une jeune personne, but the notice added that she was a "niece of Mr. Ferrand."<sup>2</sup>

Whether or not positive identification of these particular actresses is ever made, the appearance of quadron performers on the early New Orleans stage demonstrates a significant aspect of the French West Indian tradition in early Louisiana theater. Good performances, including good dancing and grooming at the public dances following the performances on stage, were looked upon with great favor.

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<sup>1</sup>Le Gardeur, The First New Orleans Theatre, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

### Instrumentalists on the East Coast

After 1793, Charleston, South Carolina, continued a tradition of concerts and occasional light operas which had been instituted by the St. Cecilia Society in the 1730's. But the final decade of the eighteenth century brought the additional feature of French comic opera to the city's musical activities. In compiling programs of these concerts, Sonneck notes the presence in Charleston of "a company of French comedians who had managed to escape the terrorists in St. Domingo."<sup>1</sup>

In general, the programs of the Atlantic seaboard cities during this period followed the concert outline rather than a theatrical scheme, usually drama followed by comic opera, as the custom had been in Saint-Domingue. But Charleston's City Gazette and Daily Advertiser of March 26, 1794, announced that the opening of the French Theater would be held during the following week. Included on the program would be Pygmalion, a lyric play of J. J. Rousseau. Monsieur Dainville and Madame Val were scheduled to play the leads.<sup>2</sup>

Both Dainville and Madame Val had performed extensively in Saint-Domingue. Dainville's role in the Rousseau work cited above was one for which he was best known in Cap-Francais, Port-au-Prince, and Saint-Marc. Fouchard lists him as an actor rather than a singer.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Sonneck, Early Concert Life, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup>Willis, The Charleston Stage, p. 238.

<sup>3</sup>Fouchard, Artistes et Repertoire, p. 19.

Monsieur and Madame Val (Vall) are also listed as members of the Cap-Francais (1783) and Port-au-Prince (1786) troupes. Both were classified as actors, but performances in Charleston, Philadelphia, and elsewhere in the United States included dancing and pantomime.

Petit, Foucard, Capron

While the strongest of the theatrical figures from Saint-Domingue appear to have relocated in New Orleans in the wake of the slave uprisings, the better instrumentalists chose to tour the larger cities along the Atlantic. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between persons who came from the West Indies and those who came from France immediately following the French Revolution.

For example, a concert in Charleston at Williams' Coffee House on December 17, 1793, featured Messieurs Petit, Le Roy, Foucard, and Villars.<sup>1</sup> Petit and Foucard are listed in Fouchard's Dictionnaire as having been musicians in Saint-Domingue: Petit a violinist at Cap-Francais and Foucard a clarinettist at Saint-Marc. There is no record that Le Roy and Villars performed in the West Indies, therefore, they could have come directly from France, or, possibly, they were natives of the United States.

In Saint-Domingue and in the United States, Petit performed violin concertos by his teacher, Giovanni Mane Jarnowick (1745-1804). The violinist of that name who was in Paris when Petit was of student

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<sup>1</sup>Sonneck, Early Concert Life, p. 29.

age was also called Giornovicche. He was probably of Croatian extraction. In Paris in 1770, Jarnowick performed at le concert spirituel and his technique was considered a model for string players for several years thereafter. According to Fetis, he travelled to Prussia, Russia, Sweden, and England after leaving France. In London (1792) he fell short in competition with Viotti, who was also in the city at that time. The close contact between England and the American cities may be reflected in Petit's programming of a violin concerto by Viotti on March 6, 1794, in Charleston.<sup>1</sup>

Press announcements of performances by a cellist, Henri Capron, indicate what some musicians might have foreseen as a profitable touring circuit even in this early period of New World professionalism. A Monsieur Capron, cellist in the theater orchestra at Port-au-Prince, placed a notice in the Supplement des Affiches Américaines on October 25, 1783, of a forthcoming performance.<sup>2</sup> In 1785, a cellist named Henri Capron was involved in a quarrel with William Brown and John Bently as to how the Philadelphia City Concert should be managed.<sup>3</sup> Since this was the occasion of the second series of concerts in Philadelphia following the War for Independence, it is possible that Capron went to Port-au-Prince from the American colonies while the war was in progress.

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<sup>1</sup>Sonneck, Early Concert Life, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup>Fouchard, Artistes et Répertoire, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup>Sonneck, Early Concert Life, p. 80.

## Clément, Dufresne, Bissery

Unlike the instrumentalists, singers, actors, and dancers who managed to continue their work after leaving Saint-Domingue, the indigenous composers and their products remain obscure. To an opera-conscious society, the librettist stood ahead of the musical composer, and Saint-Domingue seems to have had its favorite in the person of Claude Clément (c. 1735-1793). Monsieur Clément was born in Cap-Français and took part in some of the plays of the 1750's. Saint-Méry and Fouchard have attested to his popularity as an actor and author. Most of his writings reflect a rather boundless humor. For example, he wrote a petition in poetry in 1792 calling for a double ration or at least a double pittance because of his age, state, and the size of his belly.<sup>1</sup> His parodies on light operas included Jeannot et Thérèse based on Le Devin du village, and Julien et Susette modeled after Blaise et Babet. Clément made use of Negro dialect, Creole French, local settings (as apparently in the play, Lundi au Cap), and new stage directions for what he called "d'opéra créole." In this genre, Clément would call for a ballet "pas negres" or "pas d'esclaves" rather than a traditional "pas de deux."<sup>2</sup>

For Clément's la Ruse de village (1773), a piece in the comédie mêlée d'ariettes genre, the librettist had the services of a

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<sup>1</sup>Fouchard, Le Théâtre, pp. 295-296.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 298.



capable composer, Monsieur Dufresne.<sup>1</sup> The musician was a violinist in the Cap-Français theater orchestra and remained in Saint-Domingue until the early 1780's.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the arrangements and settings he made for Clément, Dufresne composed several concertos, probably for his instrument. Fétis lists a Ferdinand Dufresne (b. 1783), "son of a violinist of the Comédie-Français orchestra," who published six sets of variations for flute.

Another composer who resided in Cap-Français during the period 1777-1783 was the Italian, Bissery. Newspaper announcements credit him with the composition of an original opéra-bouffon, Le sourd dupé, performed at Cap-Français in June, 1777, and the music for an opera, Le bouquet disputé, presented in honor of Galvez on June 22, 1783.<sup>3</sup> The visit of Galvez to Saint-Domingue the previous year is discussed in Chapter IV.

#### Armerie, Placide

Theatrical dancing in Saint-Domingue furnishes a study in contrasts between the periods 1770 and 1790. The Italian dancing master, Armerie, followed the concept of amplifying upon the subject matter of an opera or drama, which was the principal attraction of an evening's entertainment. His works noted in the newspapers of

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<sup>1</sup>Fouchard, Le Théâtre, p. 299.

<sup>2</sup>Fouchard, Artistes et Répertoire, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

Saint-Domingue, Ballet Turc, Les Apothicaires, Savetiers et Perruquiers, and Les Ifs enchantés par l'amour were related by subject to operas or plays on the same program. Armerie also managed a school for dancing in Cap-Français and probably danced in his own presentations.<sup>1</sup> His approach appears to have been logical and creative, but Armerie did not succeed financially and left the colony in 1775.

On the other hand, Alexander Placide, already known in France during the 1780's as a rope dancer, invented or abstracted any music which would best accompany his skills. In 1791, he left France for Saint-Domingue with a small troupe and toured virtually all towns and cities in the colony.<sup>2</sup>

Probably sensing the uneasiness in the colony, Placide moved on to Charleston, South Carolina, in 1791. Some of the dancers and actors in Saint-Domingue, particularly Monsieur and Madame Val and possibly Monsieur Lege, joined Placide's troupe at this time. In Charleston, Placide staged pantomimes, ballets, and portions of operettas. In 1792, he was invited to perform in New York.<sup>3</sup> Placide later made his headquarters in Charleston, became a theater director there in 1802, and with his troupe, Placide's Varieties, became a

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<sup>1</sup>Fouchard, Plaisirs de Saint-Domingue, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup>Marian Hannah Winter, Le Théâtre du Merveilleux (Paris: Olivier Perrin, 1962), p. 13.

<sup>3</sup>Marian Hannah Winter, "American Theatrical Dancing from 1750 to 1800," The Musical Quarterly, XXIV (1938), 62.

figure in early American entertainment.

Louis, Joseph, Labbé

In certain cases, practices and customs in music are best determined from lesser known figures. Fouchard's Dictionnaire lists a "Louis," who was a clarinettist in the theater orchestra at Port-au-Prince. He was based with the militia regiment in the city.<sup>1</sup>

The Dictionnaire also lists a Joseph as a "Negro musician at the Comédie du Cap," which fact in the 1780's was not a unique occurrence. But this musician, a violinist, performed in public concertos by Saint-George (1739-1799) and Stamitz (probably Carl, 1746-1801) and received newspaper publicity in Affiches Américaines, April 25, 1780, January 22, 1783, and February 1, 1786.<sup>2</sup>

Monsieur Labbé, the director of the short-lived theater at Léogâne, voiced a measure of bitterness concerning his social position as an "homme de couleur" when he advertised his theater and equipment for sale in 1788. His remark in the announcement was to the effect that there were those who did not feel he should be accorded the title of "Monsieur." Yet there is the possibility that portions of his equipment, particularly the music and books, could have survived the revolution because of the time of the sale and the location of the property.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Fouchard, Artistes et Répertoire, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>3</sup>Fouchard, Le Théâtre, p. 94.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing presentation is intended to clarify and implement existing accounts in the field of American music. The writer has emphasized French contributions in music and theater, in particular, opera, opera-comique, and opera-ballet as these genres developed in France and spread to the French colony of Saint-Domingue. After considerable research in this area, the author feels he has ascertained that there are no other detailed accounts in English which deal with the locations, personnel, and programs of the theaters in Saint-Domingue (Haiti) during the period 1750-1795.

By far the greatest percentage of the works performed in Saint-Domingue during the colonial era were for the musical stage. But the occasional newspaper announcements of concerts by regimental bands, solo and ensemble performances by members of theater orchestras, and the popularity of local dance arrangements and Creole dialect opera parodies attest to a varied musical life.

Touring operatic troupes existed in Europe during this period, and several, including those directed by Carli, Ribie, and Placide made overseas tours to include the cities and towns of Saint-Domingue. Local theater companies, where well-established beforehand, did not

suffer economically when the touring companies appeared, but continued to schedule full seasons usually for ten months of each year.

Qualitative reports in the form of critical writings regarding the French colonial performances remain few in number. Madame Marsan of the Cap-Français company received favorable comment from knowledgeable members of her audiences both in Saint-Domingue and later when she resettled in New Orleans. Instrumentalists who had held positions of importance in the colony's theater orchestras continued to perform in ensembles and as soloists in the United States, where many took refuge following the slave uprisings of the 1790's. On the other hand, no special acclaim accompanied any of the performers who returned to France after a period of residence in Saint-Domingue, a general indication that French colonial and provincial theater operated at similar levels of quality.

The appearance on stage of persons of mixed French and African blood, also the employment of trained Negro musicians in the theater orchestras at Cap-Français, Port-au-Prince, and Léogâne indicate a new facet for the study of African developments in America. The question also arises as to the whole state of sacred music in the churches of Saint-Domingue during this period.

The merchants who dealt in musical merchandise and the private teachers of dancing and vocal and instrumental music in the colony indicate that a widespread interest existed in the performing arts. Amateurs interested in drama staged the first plays and

undertook the first subscription for a theater season in Cap-Français in the early 1740's. The entire social structure of Saint-Domingue appears to have supported theatrical undertakings equal to if not surpassing those in the more populous North American cities during the period 1760-1790.

Chapter V of the study traces lines of migration as a means of indicating possible influences of the French-trained musicians who escaped Saint-Domingue during and after the slave revolt. New Orleans finally received the greatest number of the French and mulatto population after these refugees had settled temporarily in Cuba. Approximately 10,000 in number, this influx nearly doubled New Orleans' population around 1810 and brought it to the dimensions of an urban community. The growth of French theater and opera in the city received its vital if not initial impetus at this time.

The refugee performers from Saint-Domingue who settled in Charleston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, and Boston introduced French plays and light operas to those cities. But by 1800, this movement had lost its momentum. The performers, frustrated by language difficulties, adapted to the accepted concert schemes and performed arias detached from operas, instrumental solos and ensemble presentations, and wordless ballet-pantomime arrangements of what once were the light operas of Grétry, Monsigny, Philidor, and Gossec. The absence of French-speaking audiences in the eastern United States called for adjustments on the part of the West Indian refugees.

Therefore, the early metropolitan areas of the United States Atlantic seaboard remained essentially English in spirit and absorbed less of the French-Caribbean spirit than did New Orleans.

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## APPENDIX

### ANNOUNCEMENTS OF MUSICAL PERFORMANCES IN THE THEATERS OF SAINT-DOMINGUE

Information in the Appendix was compiled from performances listed in Fouchard, Artistes et Repertoire des Scènes, and in micro-films of newspapers obtained from Houghton Library, Harvard University. Dates of compositions and names and dates of composers were verified through several sources, including Loewenberg, Annals of Opera; Towers, Dictionary-Catalogue of Operas and Operettas; Fétis, Biographie Universelle des Musiciens; Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians; and Mattfeld, Handbook of American Operatic Premieres, 1731-1962.

Locations of performances were traced through names of performers and their places of employment as listed in the dictionary section of Fouchard, Artistes et Repertoire des Scènes. Dots in chart listings indicate that information is not available at time of writing.



Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1764	
Le Devin du village (1752), Opera-comique, J. J. Rousseau (1712-1778)	June 6, Mme. Mentet, Cap-Français
Le Cadi dupé (1761), Opera-bouffon, P. A. Monsigny (1729-1817)	Oct. 24, . . , Cap-Français
Ballet Turc (1764), Local ballet, Armerie	Oct. 24, Armerie, Cap-Francais
Baioco (1755), Opera-bouffon, C. P. Sodi (1715-1788)	Nov. 21, . . , . .
1765	
Le Soldat magicien (1760), Opera-bouffon, F. A. D. Philidor (1726-1795)	Jan. 23, . . , . .
Grenadiers ( . . ), Ballet-pantomime, Local ballet?	Jan. 23, . . , . .
Annette et Lubin (1762), Opera-pastoral, Benoît Blaise (?-1772)	Jan. 30, . . , . .
Return performance: Le Soldat magicien, Grenadiers	Feb. 6, . . , . .
Return performance: Le Cadi dupé	Feb. 13, . . , Cap-Français
Le deux Chasseurs et la laitière (1763), Opera- pastoral, E. R. Duni (1709-1775)	Feb. 13, . . , . .

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1765 (Continued)	
Amours de Nanterre ( . . ), Opera-comique, . .	March 20, La Salle, Nau; Cap-Français amateurs (?)
La Bohémienne (1756), Opera- bouffon, C. F. Clement (1720-?)	April 17, . . . .
Bertholdé à la ville ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Lasalle d'Offemont (1734-1818)	April 24, . . . .
La Fille mal gardée ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, E. R. Duni	May 1, . . . .
Return performance: Amours de Nanterre and Ballet: Mariage force par justice	May 8, . . . Cap-Français amateurs (?)
Magasin des modernes ( . . ), Opera-comique, . .	May 22, . . . .
Return performance: Annette et Lubin, Blaise	June 5, . . . .
Bastien et Bastienne (1753), Opera-comique, C. S. Favart (1710-1792)	July 24, . . . .
Ensorcelés ( . . ), Opera-comique, C. S. Favart	July 31, . . . .
La Rose ou les Fêtes de l'hymen ( . . ), Opera-comique, . .	Aug. 7, . . . .
Les Amours catalanes ( . . ), Opera-comique, . .	Aug. 14, . . . .
Les Bâteliers de Saint-Cloud ( . . ), Opera-comique, . .	Aug. 21, . . . .

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1765 (Continued)	
Blaise le Savetier (1759), Opera-bouffon, F. A. D. Philidor	Sept. 4, . ., . .
Repeat performance: Blaise le Savetier	Sept. 11
Jérôme et Fanchonette ( . . ), Opera-comique, Vadé (1722-?)	Sept. 11, . ., . .
Repeat performance: Jérôme et Fanchonette	Sept. 18
Déguisement pastoral ( . . ), Opera-comique, P. van Maldere (1724-1768)	Sept. 25, . ., . .
Les Troqueurs (1753), Opera-bouffon, A. Dauvergne (1713-1797)	Oct. 2, . ., . .
Repeat performance: Opera-comique (Déguisement pastoral ?)	Oct. 9
Return performance: Les deux Chasseurs et la laitière, E. R. Duni	Oct. 16
Les Chasseurs ( . . ), Ballet pantomime, . .	Oct. 16, . ., . .
L'Héritier du village ( . . ), Opera-comique, . .	Oct. 23, . ., . .
Repeat performance: Les deux Chasseurs with Ballet: Les Chasseurs	Oct. 23

Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
Composers

Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

1765 (Continued)

Les deux Amies de village (1765?), Opera-bouffon, Amateur du Cap	Oct. 30, . . , Amateur composition, Cap-Français
Les Bohémiens ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Favart (?)	Nov. 6, . . , . .
Return performance: Les deux Amies de village	Nov. 6, . . , Cap-Français
Repeat performance: Les deux Amies de village	Nov. 13, . . , Cap-Français
Les Apothicaires (1765?), Ballet-pantomime, Armerie	Nov. 27, Armerie, Cap-Français
Return performance: Annette et Lubin, Blaise	Dec. 11
Return performance: Amours de Nanterre	Dec. 18
Repeat performance: Amours de Nanterre	Dec. 25
La Servante maîtresse (1753), Opera-bouffon, G. B. Pergolesi (1710-1736)	Dec. 25, . . , . .

1766

Le Devin du village (1752), Opera-comique, J. J. Rousseau	Jan. 15, Mme. Mentet, Cap-Français
La Soirée du boulevard ( . . ), Opera-comique, . .	Jan. 22, . . , . .

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1766 (Continued)	
L'Île frivole ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, . .	Feb. 5, Alqueie students, Cap-Francais
La Servante justifiée ( . . ), Opera-comique, . .	Feb. 5, . . , . .
Le Diable à quatre (1756), Opera-comique, F. A. D. Philidor	Feb. 5, . . , . .
Return performance: Annette et Lubin (1762), Opera-bouffon, Blaise	Feb. 19, . . , . .
Les deux soeurs rivales ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, . .	Feb. 26, . . , . .
Lucas et Colinette ( . . ), Opera-comique, C. S. Favart	Feb. 26, Mlle. Gault, Cap-Français
La Bohemienne ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, C. F. Clément	March 5, . . , . .
La Sérénade ( . . ), Ballet-pantomime, . .	March 5, . . , . .
Les deux Chasseurs et la laitière (1763), Opera-bouffon, E. R. Duni	April 23, . . , . .
Return performance: Annette et Lubin	April 30, . . , . .
Blaise le savetier (1759), Opera-bouffon, F. A. D. Philidor	May 7, . . , . .
Bastien et Bastienne (1753), Opera-parody, Favart	May 14, . . , . .
On ne s'avise jamais de tout (1761), Monsigny	May 28, . . , . .

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1766 (Continued)	
La Bohémienne ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, C. F. Clément	June 4, . . , . .
Les Troqueurs (1753), . . , Vadé	Aug. 13, . . , . .
Le Roi et le fermier (1762), Opera-bouffon, Monsigny	Sept. 17, . . , . .
Les Troqueurs (1753), . . , Vadé	Sept. 24, . . , . .
Le Devin du village (1752), Opera-comique, J. J. Rousseau	Oct. 8, Mlle. Fronteau, Cap-Français
Le Roi et le fermier (1762), Opera-bouffon, Monsigny	Oct. 5, Amateur performance, . .
Le Maréchal ferrant (1761), Opera-bouffon, Philidor	Oct. 22, Amateur performance, . .
Le Diable à quatre (1756), . . , Philidor	Nov. 19, . . , . .
Tonnelliers ( . . ), Ballet-pantomime, Haller	Nov. 19, Haller, Cap-Français
Second announcement: Ballet des tonnelliers ( . . ), Ballet-pantomime, Haller	Nov. 26, Haller, Cap-Français
Sancho-Pança, gouverneur dans l'île de Barataria (1762), Opera-bouffon, Philidor	Dec. 3, . . , . .
Le Diable à quatre (1756), Opera-comique, Philidor	Dec. 10, . . , . .
On ne s'avise jamais de tout (1761), Opera-bouffon, Monsigny	Dec. 24, . . , . .

Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
Composers

Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

1766 (Continued)

La Profanation du chêne sacré  
ou Le Druide vengé par Jupiter  
( . . ), Ballet-pantomime, Haller

Dec. 31, Lebrun,  
Cap-Français

1767

Le Bûcheron ou Les trois Souhais  
(1763), Opera-bouffon, Philidor

Jan. 14, Mme. Mentet,  
Cap-Français

Le Braconnier ( . . ),  
Ballet-pantomime, Haller

Jan. 14, . . ,  
Cap-Français

La Rose ( . . ),  
Opera-comique

Jan. 21, . . , . .

Sancho-Pança, gouverneur (1762),  
Opera-bouffon, Philidor

Jan. 21, . . , . .

Le Braconnier ( . . ),  
Ballet-pantomime, Haller

Jan. 21, . . ,  
Cap-Français

Les Troqueurs ( . . ),  
Opera-bouffon, Vade

Jan. 28, . . , . .

Les Bâteliers de Saint-Cloud  
( . . ), Opera-comique, . .

Feb. 4, . . , . .

Le Bûcheron (1763),  
Opera-bouffon, Philidor

Feb. 4, . . , . .

Le Maréchal ferrant (1761),  
Opera-bouffon, Philidor

Feb. 11, . . , . .

Le Jardinière italienne  
( . . ), Ballet, . .

Feb. 11, . . , . .

Sancho-Pança, gouverneur (1762),  
Opera-bouffon, Philidor

Feb. 25, . . , . .

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1767 (Continued)	
Les Catalans ( . . ), Ballet-pantomime	Mar. 4, Mlle. Couzine, Cap-Français
La Basquaise ( . . ), Ballet, . .	Mar. 11, . . , . .
Le Roi et le fermier (1762), Opera-bouffon, Monsigny	April 8, . . , . .
Rose et Colas (1764), Opera-bouffon, Monsigny	April 22, . . , . .
La Bohémienne ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Clément	May 6, . . , . .
Second announcement: La Bohémienne ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Clément	May 13, . . , . .
Mazet ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Duni	May 20, . . , . .
Le deux Chasseurs et la laitière (1763), Opera-bouffon, Duni	May 20, . . , . .
Mazet ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Duni	June 10, . . , . .
Second announcement: Mazet ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Duni	June 17, . . , . .
La Servante maîtresse (1733), Opera-bouffon, Pergolesi	June 24, . . , . .
Isabelle et Gertrude (1765), Opera-bouffon, Favart-Blaise	July 1, . . , . .



Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1767 (Continued)	
Le Druide vengé par Jupiter ( . . ), Ballet-pantomine, . .	July 1, . . , . .
Le Tonnelier ( . . ), Opera-comique, F. J. Gossec (1734-1829)	July 22, . . , . .
Les Charbonniers ( . . ), Ballet, . .	July 22, . . , . .
Second announcement: Le Tonnelier, Les Charbonniers	Aug. 5, . . , . .
Le Maître de musique (1731), Opera-bouffon, Pergolesi	Aug. 5, . . , . .
Le Sorcier (1764), Opera-bouffon, Philidor	Sept. 2, . . , . .
Annette et Lubin (1762), Opera-bouffon, Blaise	Sept. 16, . . , . .
Le Cadi dupé (1761), Opera-bouffon, Monsigny	Sept. 16, . . , . .
Le Sorcier (1764), Opera-bouffon, Philidor	Sept. 30, Gervais (décor), Cap-Français
L'Île de fous ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, . .	Sept. 30, . . , . .
La Bohémienne ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Clement	Oct. 28, . . , . .
Ballet (1767), Local production	Oct. 28, Armerie, Mlle. Fonteau, Labat fils, Mlle. Dunand; Cap-Français
Lucas et Colinette ( . . ), Opera-comique, Favart	Nov. 25, Labat fils, Mlle. Dunand, Armerie; Cap-Français

Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
Composers

Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

## 1767 (Continued)

Le Soldat magicien (1760),  
Opera-bouffon, Philidor

Dec. 9, . . , . .

Pas de cinq (1767),  
Dance (local)

Dec. 9, Armerie, Labat,  
Mlle. Dunand; Cap-Français

Baloco (1755),  
Opera-bouffon, Sodi

Dec. 16, . . , . .

L'Aveugle de Palmyre ( . . ),  
Opera-bouffon, J. J.  
Rodolphe (1730-1812)

Dec. 23, . . , . .

Les Ensorcêles ( . . ),  
Opera-comique, Harny-Favart

Dec. 30, . . , . .

La Servante maîtresse (1733),  
Opera-comique, Pergolesi

Dec. 30, . . , . .

## 1768

Les Amazones (1768),  
Ballet-pantomime, Lebrun

Jan. 6, Lebrun,  
Port-au-Prince

Les Ensorcêles ( . . ),  
Opera-comique, Harny-Favart

Jan. 6, . . , . .

Mazet ( . . ),  
Opera-comique, Duni

Jan. 6, . . , . .

L'Aveugle de Palmyre ( . . ),  
Opera, J. J. Rodolphe

Jan. 6, . . , . .

Le Suffisant (1753),  
Opera-comique, Favart

Jan. 13, . . , . .

Minette à la cour (1755),  
Opera-comique, Blaise-Favart

Jan. 13, Mme. Mentet,  
Cap-Français

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1768 (Continued)	
Ballet (1768), Local dance production	Jan. 13, Labat, Mlle. Dunand, Cap-Français
Les Apothicaires (1765), Ballet-pantomime, Armerie	Jan. 13, Armerie, Cap-Français
Caprice amoureux ou Ninette à la cour (1755), Opera-comique, Blaise-Favart	Jan. 20, Amateur, Mlle. Mentet, Cap-Français
La Fée Urgèle (1765), Opera, Duni	Feb. 10, . . .
L'Aveugle de Palmyre ( . . ), Opera, J. J. Rodolphe	Feb. 10 , . . .
La Fee Urgèle (1765), Opera, Duni	March 2, Gervais, Cap-Français
Le Sorcier (1764), Opera-bouffon, Philidor	March 9, . . .
Ninette à la cour (1755), Opera-comique, Blaise-Favart	March 9, . . .
Le Mariage force par justice ( . . ), Ballet-pantomime	March 9, Armerie, Labat, Mlle. Dunand; Cap-Français
Lucas et Colinette ( . . ), Opera-comique, Favart	March 16, . . .
Ninette à la cour (1755), Opera-comique, Blaise-Favart	March 16, . . .
Le Mariage force ( . . ), Local ballet	March 16, Armerie, Labat, Mlle. Dunand, Cap-Français
Sancho-Pança, gouverneur (1762), Opera-comique, Philidor	April 4, Mlle. Mourel, Dugange; Cap-Français

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1768 (Continued)	
Le Roi et le fermier (1762), Opera-comique, Monsigny	May 2, . . . .
Le Maréchal ferrant (1761), Opera-comique, Philidor	May 30, . . . .
Le Rossignol ( . . ), Opera-comique, J. B. de la Borde (1744-1794)	June 6, . . . .
Le Poirier ( . . ), Opera-comique, Vade	June 20, . . . .
Sancho-Pança (1762), Opera-comique, Philidor	July 25, . . . .
La Fée Urgèle (1765), Opera-comique, Duni	July 25, . . . .
Tom Jones (1765), Opera-bouffon, Philidor	Aug. 8, . . . .
Bouquet du roi ( . . ), Opera-comique, J. C. Gilliers (1667-1737)	Aug. 22, . . . .
Annette et Lubin (1762), Opera-bouffon, Blaise	Aug. 22, . . . .
Les Muses artisanes ou L'Auteur perruquier ( . . ), Opera-comique, . .	Oct. 3, . . . .
Savetiers et perruquiers (1768?), Ballet-pantomime, Armerie	Oct. 3, Armerie, Cap-Français
La Naissance des Arts (1768), Ballet-pantomime	Oct. 24, Mlle. Mourel, Cap-Français

Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
Composers

Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

1768 (Continued)

Pas Turc (1768), Local dance arrangement	Nov. 21, Armerie, Mlle. Fronteau; Cap-Français
Le Maître en droit ou Le Tuteur dupe ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, de la Borde	Dec. 19, Gervais, Cap-Français
Le Devin du village (1752), Opera-pastoral, Rousseau	Dec. 19, Armerie, Cap-Français

1769

Ballet (1769), Local dance, Armerie	Jan. 4, Mlle. Fronteau, Armerie; Cap-Français
La Fée Urgèle (1765), Opera-bouffon, Duni	Jan. 11, . . , . .
Le Diable à quatre (1756), Opera-comique, Philidor	Feb. 1, . . , . .
L'Auteur perruquier ( . . ), Opera-comique, . .	Feb. 1, . . , . .
Les Raccoleurs ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Vadé	Feb. 22, Charron, Saint-Marc
Le Retour de l'île sauvage ( . . ), Ballet, . .	Feb. 22, . . , . .
Les Adieux ( . . ), Ballet, . .	March 8, . . , . .
Concert spirituel ( . . ), Musique et chant	March 15, Local women performers, Cap-Français
Le Huron (1768), Opera-bouffon, André E. M. Grétry (1741-1813)	May 8, Mme. Mentet, Cap-Français

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1769 (Continued)	
Le Milicien (1762), Opera- bouffon, Anseaume-Duni	May 8, . . , . .
Second performance: Le Milicien, Opera-bouffon	May 29, . . , . .
Le Sorcier (1764), Opera-bouffon, Philidor	June 19, . . , . .
Toinon et Toinette (1767), Opera-bouffon, F. J. Gossec	June 19, . . , . .
L'Aveugle de Palmyre ( . . ), Opera, Rodolphe	Aug. 14, . . , . .
Le deux Chasseurs et la laitière (1763), Opera-bouffon, Duni	Aug. 23, Laclaverie (Saint-Martin), Saint-Marc
Second performance: Le deux Chasseurs	Sept. 20, de Pastey, Laclaverie; Saint-Marc
La Fée Urgèle (1765), Opera, Duni	Oct. 10, . . , . .
Le Festin de Pierre ( . . ), Ballet-pantomime, . .	Oct. 18, . . , . .
Le Devin du village (1752), Opera-pastoral, Rousseau	Nov. 15, . . , . .
Annette et Lubin (1762), Opera-pastoral, Blaise	Nov. 15, . . , . .
Ballet champêtre ( . . ), Dance arrangement	Nov. 15, . . , . .
La Fête du chateau ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Duni	Nov. 20, . . , . .

Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
Composers

Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

1769 (Continued)

La Montagne ou les Ifs  
enchantées par l'amour (1769),  
Ballet pastoral, Armerie

Dec. 11, Armerie,  
Cap-Français

1770

Leda ( . . ),  
Ballet-heroique, . .

Jan. 20, . . , . .

Lucile (1769),  
Opera, Grétry

Feb. 3, . . , . .

Maréchal-ferrant (1761),  
Opera-bouffon, Philidor

Feb. 28, de Pastey,  
Saint-Marc

Le Sorcier (1764),  
Opera-bouffon, Philidor

Feb. 28, . . , . .

Second performance:  
Maréchal-ferrant

March 21, de Pastey,  
Saint-Marc

Lucile (1769),  
Opera, Grétry

March 31, Lacombe,  
Cap-Français

Le Sorcier (1764),  
Opera-bouffon, Philidor

April 24, de Pastey,  
Saint-Marc

La Fête du chateau ( . . ),  
Opera-bouffon, Duni

April 24, . . , . .

La Bohémienne ( . . ),  
Opera-bouffon, Clément

May 2, de Pastey,  
Saint-Marc

Rose et Colas (1764),  
Opera, Monsigny

May 2, Mlle. Lapommeraye,  
Saint-Marc

Le galant Jardinier ( . . ),  
Opera-bouffon, . .

July 11, . . , . .

Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
Composers

Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

1770 (Continued)

Le Tableau parlant (1769), Opera-bouffon, Grétry	Aug. 15, . ., . .
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera, Monsigny	Aug. 22, . ., . .
Lucile (1769), Opera, Grétry	Oct. 3, . ., . .
Silvain (1770), Opera, Grétry	Oct. 17, . ., Cap-Français?, (Paris premier, Feb. 19, 1770)
Second performance: Silvain	Oct. 24, . ., . .
Une Fleur interresse (1770), Ariette, Pisset (local composition)	Oct. 31, Mlle. Mourel, Cap-Français
Les Charbonniers ( . .), Ballet, . .	Dec. 26, . ., . .

1771

La Fée Urgèle (1765), Opera, Duni	Jan. 16, Mme. Mentet, Cap-Français
Second announcement: La Fée Urgèle	Jan. 23, Mme. Mentet, Cap-Français
Le Devin du village (1752), Opera-pastoral, Rousseau	Feb. 6, Pisset, Cap-Français
Bastien et Bastienne (1753), Opera-comique, Harny-Favart	Feb. 6, . ., . .

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Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
Composers

Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

1771 (Continued)

Le Marechal ferrant (1761), Opera-bouffon, Philidor	Feb. 27, . ., . .
La Chaconne des Indes galantes (1735), Ballet, J. P. Rameau (1683-1764)	March 13, Lacombe, Cap-Français
Les deux Avars (1770), Opera-bouffon, Gretry	July 13, Gervais, Cap-Français
Rose et Colas (1764), Opera-comique, Monsigny	Aug. 10, Mme. Mentet, Cap-Français

1772

Le Milicien (1762), Opera-bouffon, Duni	Jan. 22, . ., . .
Annette et Lubin (1762), Opera-bouffon, Blaise-Favart	Jan. 29, . ., . .
Second announcement: Annette et Lubin	Feb. 5, . ., . .
Les deux Jardiniers ( . .), Opera-bouffon, Prudent (1741?)	June 20, . ., . .
Le Milicien (1762), Opera-bouffon, Duni	July 8, . ., . .
Tom Jones (1765), Opera-bouffon, Philidor	July 18, Vergnes, Cap-Français
Zémire et Azor (1771), Opera-comique, . .	Aug. 15, . ., . .
Zémire et Azor (1771), Opera-comique, Grétry	Aug. 29, . ., . .

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1772 (Continued)	
Le Maître de musique ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Pergolesi	Sept. 5, Dutacq, Cap-Français
Les deux Jardiniers ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Prudent	Sept. 19, . . , . .
Le Maître de musique ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Pergolesi	Sept. 19, . . , . .
Aveaux indiscrets (1759), Opera-bouffon, Monsigny	Oct. 10, Clément, Cap-Français
On ne s'avise jamais de tout (1761), Opera- bouffon, Monsigny-Favart	Dec. 2, d'Hericourt, Léogâne
Le nouveau Marie (1772), Opera-bouffon, Pisset (Local production)	Dec. 5, Pisset
Les Racleurs ( . . ), Opera-comique, Vadé	Dec. 5, . . , . .
Le Trompeur trompé ( . . ), Opera-comique, Vadé-Duval	Dec. 16, Dubois, Léogâne
Veillée de village ( . . ), Opera, L.(?) Lully (1664-1715)	Dec. 19, Mme. Charpentier, Saint-Marc
Le Milicien (1762), Opera-bouffon, Duni	Dec. 23, . . , . .
Ninette à la cour ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Duni	Dec. 30, La Claverie, Port-au-Prince
On ne s'avise jamais de tout, (1761), Opera-bouffon, Monsigny-Favart	Dec. 30 , . . , . .

Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
Composers

Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

## 1772 (Continued)

Thérèse et Jeannot (1772),  
Creole parody on Devin du  
village, Pisset-Clement

Dec. 30, Clement,  
Cap-Français

Zemire et Azor (1771),  
Opera-comique, Gretry

Dec. 31, Lavoy, Mlle.  
Fronteau, Cap-Français

## 1773

Annette et Lubin (1762),  
Opera-bouffon, Blaise

Jan. 9, Chinon,  
Cap-Français

Le Pommier ou la Ruse  
de village (1773), Local  
operetta, Dufresne-Clément

Jan. 9, Dufresne, Clement,  
Cap-Français

Isabella et Gertrude (1765),  
Opera-comique, Blaise

Jan. 23, Mlle. Desforges,  
Cap-Français

L'Amoureux de quinze ans (1771),  
Opera-comique, Johann P. A.  
Martini (1741-1816)

Feb. 13, Mme. Mentet,  
Cap-Français

Le Pommier ou la Ruse  
de village (1773), Local  
operetta, Dufresne-Clément

March 13, Mme. Desforges,  
Clement, Dufresne;  
Cap-Français

La Servante Maîtresse (1733),  
Opera-bouffon, Pergolesi

June 5, Mme. Monet,  
Cap-Français

Repeat performance:  
La Servante Maîtresse

June 19, Mme. Monet,  
Cap-Français

Le Cadi dupé (1761),  
Opera-bouffon, Monsigny

June \_\_, . . .

Le Peintre amoureux de son modèle  
(1757), Opera-bouffon, Duni

June \_\_, . . .

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1773 (Continued)	
Le Tableau parlant (1769), Opera-comique, Grétry	June __, . ., . .
Le Sorcier (1764), Opera-bouffon, Philidor	June __, . ., . .
Silvain (1770), Opera-comique, Grétry	June __, . ., . .
Le Tonnelier (1761), Opera- comique, Audinot-Gossec	June __, . ., . .
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera-comique, Monsigny	June __, . ., . .
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera-comique, Monsigny	July 3, . ., . .
Zémire et Azor (1771), Opera-comique, Grétry	July __, . ., . .
Le Jardinier et son seigneur (1761), Opera-comique, Philidor	July __, . ., . .
Annette et Lubin (1762), Opera-bouffon, Blaise	July __, . ., . .
Tom Jones (1765), Opera-comique, Philidor	July __, . ., . .
Le Roi et le fermier (1762), Opera-comique, Monsigny	July __, . ., . .
Le Huron (1768), Opera-comique, Grétry	July __, . ., . .
Rose et Colas (1764), Opera-bouffon, Monsigny	Sept. 18, Mlle. Dezi, Mlle. Monet; Cap-Français

Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
Composers

Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

1773 (Continued)

Blaise le Savetier (1759), Opera-comique, Philidor	Sept. 18, . ., . .
Nanette et Lucas ( . .), Operetta, d'Herbain (1734-1769)	Sept. 18, . ., . .
Mazet ( . .), Operetta, Duni	Sept. 18, . ., . .
Lucile (1769), Opera, Grétry	Sept. 18, . ., . .
Zémire et Azor (1771), Opera-comique, Grétry	Oct. 9, Mlle. Dezi, Pisset; Cap-Français
L'Île des Fous ( . .), Opera-bouffon, Duni	Oct. 16, Mme. Monet, Cap-Français
Le Soldat magicien (1760), Opera-bouffon, Philidor	Oct. 30, Mlle. Franche- ville, Cap-Français
Annette et Lubin (1762), Opera-comique, Blaise	Nov. 13, . ., . .
Les Aveux indiscrets (1759), Opera-comique, Monsigny	Nov. 13, . ., . .
La Servante maîtresse (1733), Opera-bouffon, Pergolesi	Nov. 13, . ., . .
La Bohémienne ( . .), Opera-comique, Clement	Nov. 13, . ., . .
Le Devin du village (1752), Opera-pastoral, Rousseau	Nov. 13, . ., . .
Tom Jones (1765), Opera-comique	Nov. __, . ., . .

Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
Composers

Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

1773 (Continued)

Le deux Chasseurs et la laitière (1763), Opera-bouffon, Duni	Nov. 13, . ., . .
On ne s'avise jamais de tout (1761), Opera- bouffon, Monsigny-Favart	Nov. 13, . ., . .
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera-comique, Monsigny	Nov. 13, . ., . .
L'Amoureux de quinze ans (1771), Opera-comique, Martini	Nov. 20, Dutacq, Cap-Français
Le Ballet des tonnelles (1773), Local ballet	Nov. 20, Mme. Mentet, Mlle. Dezi, Cap-Français
Nanette et Lucas ( . .), Operetta, d'Herbain	Dec. 1, . ., . .
Nicaise ( . .), Opera-comique, Vade	Dec. 4, Pisset, Cap-Français
L'Ami de la maison (1771), Opera-comique, Vade	Dec. 4, Mlle. Leroi, Desroches; Saint-Marc
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera-comique, Monsigny	Dec. 15, Duval, Mlle. Desforges; Saint-Marc

1774

Daphnis et Alcimadure (1754), Opera, J. J. Mondonville (1711-1772)	Jan. 15, Mme. Mentet, Cap-Français
Concert ( . .), Local program	Jan. 19, Musicians of the militia at Port-au-Prince

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1774 (Continued)	
Concert ( . . ), Local program	Feb. 2, Musicians of the militia at Port-au-Prince
L'Île des fous (1760), Opera, Duni	Feb. 5, Mlle. Dezi, Cap-Français
La Clochette (1766), Opera, Duni	Feb. 12, Mme. Desforbes, Cap-Français
Le Huron (1768), Opera-bouffon, Grétry	Feb. 16, Mme. de Vanance, . . .
Les deux Avarés (1770), Opera, Grétry	Feb. 26, Duchainet, Cap-Français
Les deux Jardiniers ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Chapelle (1756-1821)	March 5, . . . .
Concert ( . . ), Local program	March 9, Musicians of the militia at Port-au-Prince
Les deux Jardiniers ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Chapelle	March 19, Pisset Cap-Français
La Clochette (1766), Opera, Duni	April 30, . . . .
Le Sorcier (1764), Opera-bouffon, Philidor	April __, . . . .
Le Cadi dupé (1761), Opera-comique, Monsigny	April 30, . . . .
Rose et Colas (1764), Opera-comique, Monsigny	April __, . . . .
Le Soldat magicien (1760), Opera-bouffon, Philidor	April __, . . . .

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1774 (Continued)	
L'Erreur du moment (1773), Opera, N. Dezède (1744-1792)	April __, . ., . .
Sancho-Pança (1762), Opera-bouffon, Philidor	May 18, Prinville, Cap-Français
Les deux Jardiniers ( . .), Opera, Chapelle	May 18, . ., . .
Zémire et Azor (1771), Opera, Grétry	June 4, . ., . .
Le Milicien (1762), Opera-bouffon, Duni	June __, . ., . .
Tom Jones (1765), Opera-comique, Philidor	June __, . ., . .
Le Magnifique (1773), Opera, Grétry	June __, . ., . .
Silvain (1770), Opera, Grétry	June __, . ., . .
On ne s'avise jamais de tout (1761), Opera, Monsigny	June __, . ., . .
L'Amitié a l'épreuve (1770), Opera-comique, Grétry	June 4, . ., . .
L'Erreur d'un moment (1773), Opera, Dezède	June __, . ., . .
L'Aveugle de Palmyre (1764), Opera-comique, J. J. Rodolphe	June __, . ., . .
La Servante maîtresse (1733), Opera-bouffon, Pergolesi	June __, . ., . .



Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1774 (Continued)	
Mazet ( . . ), Opera, Duni	June __, . . , . .
L'Amoureux de quinz ans (1771), Opera, Johann P. A. Martini (1741-1816)	June __, Froger, Cap-Français
Sara ou la fermier écossaise ( . . ), Opera, . .	June __, . . , . .
Concert ( . . ), Local violinist	Aug. 24, Pisset, Cap-Français
Le Soldat magicien (1760), Opera-bouffon, Philidor	Sept. 3, Mlle. Mourel, Cap-Français
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera, Monsigny	Sept. 21, Acquaire, Cap-Français
Le Magnifique (1773), Opera, Grétry	Sept. 24, Duchainet, Cap-Français
La nouvelle Annette ( . . ), Opera-pastoral, de la Borde	Sept. 24, Clement, Cap-Français
Le Savetier et le financier (1774), Opera, Dufresne (Local composer)	Oct. 15, Dufresne, Cap-Français
Rose et Colas (1764), Opera-comique, Monsigny	Oct. 19, . . , . .
Le Maréchal-ferrant (1761), Opera, Philidor	Nov. 16, Mlle. Duchelat, Saint-Marc
Les deux Miliciens ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Alessandro Frideri (1741-1825)	Nov. 26, . . , . .

Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
Composers

Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

1774 (Continued)

La Clochette (1766), Opera-bouffon, Duni	Dec. 14, . ., . .
La Rosière de Salenci (1773), Opera, Favart-Grétry	Dec. 17, Mlle. Franche- ville, Cap-Français
La Rosière de Salenci (1773), Opera, Favart-Grétry	Dec. 24, . ., . .
Le Tableau parlant (1769), Opera, Grétry	Dec. 28, Mme. Mentet, Cap-Français
Le Diable à quatre (1756), Opera-bouffon, Philidor	Dec. 31, . ., . .

1775

Le Tableau parlant (1769), Opera, Grétry	Jan. 4, Mme. Mentet, Cap-Français
L'Erreur d'un moment (1773), Opera, Dezède	Jan. 7, Dubuisson, Cap-Français
La Fille mal gardée (1759), Opera-bouffon, Duni	Feb. 11, Marignan, Cap-Français
La Fête d'amour ( . .), Opera, Favart	Feb. 15, . ., Port-au-Prince
Ninette à la cour (1755), Opera, Duni	Feb. 18, . ., . .
L'Amitié a l'épreuve (1770), Opera-comique, Grétry	Feb. 22, . ., . .
Silvain (1770), Opera, Grétry	March 4, . ., . .

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1775 (Continued)	
Le Tableau parlant (1769), Opera-comique, Grétry	March 29, . . . .
La Fille mal gardée (1759), Opera-bouffon, Duni	April 1, Bonioli, Marig- nam, Cap-Français
Les deux Chasseurs et la laitière (1763), Opera-comique, Duni	April 19, . . . .
Le Milicien (1762), Opera-bouffon, Duni	April 26, . . . .
On ne s'avise jamais de tout (1761), Opera- comique, Monsigny	May 17, . . . .
La Clochette (1766), Opera, Duni	May 17, . . . .
Silvain (1770), Opera, Grétry	June 21, . . . .
La Bohémienne (1756), Opera, Clément	July 22, . . . .
L'Aveugle de Palmyre (1764), Opera-comique, Rodolphe	July __, . . . .
Le Maître de musique ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Pergolesi	July __, . . . .
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera, Monsigny	July __, . . . .
Baioco (1753), Opera-bouffon, Sodi	July __, . . . .
Le Sorcier (1764), Opera-bouffon, Philidor	July __, . . . .

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1775 (Continued)	
Jérôme ( . . ), Opera, Vade	Aug. 30, Acquaire, Cap-Français
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera, Monsigny	Sept. 20, Mme. Mentet, Cap-Français
Isabelle et Gertrude (1765), Opera-bouffon, Blaise	Oct. 4, . . , . .
La Fée Urgèle (1765), Opera-bouffon, Duni	Oct. 14, Mme. Teisseire, Baron Chevalier, Mme. Clairval, Cap-Français
Les Pécheurs (1766), Opera-bouffon, Gossec	Oct. 18, Boyer, Saint-Marc
Ballet-pantomime ( . . ), Dance arrangement, . .	Oct. 21, Mme. Clairval, Cap-Français
Laurette (1775), Local opera, Darfeuil-Dufresne	Oct. 28, Mme. Teisseire, Cap-Français
Silvain (1770), Opera, Grétry	Nov. 4, Mme. Teissiere, Mlle. Dezi, Cap-Français
Les deux Avars (1770), Opera, Grétry	Nov. 12, Dainville, Cap-Français
Le Pot pourri ( . . ), Ballet-pantomime, Local	Nov. 12, Mme. Clerval, Cap-Français
Le Jardinier et son seigneur (1761), Opera-bouffon, Philidor	Nov. 18, . . , . .
Les nouveaux Maries ( . . ), Opera-comique, Estandoux- Pisset (Local arrangement?)	Nov. 22, . . , Cap-Français
Zémire et Azor (1771), Opera-bouffon, Grétry	Nov. 25, Baron, Cap-Français

Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
Composers

Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

1775 (Continued)

Le Jardinier et son seigneur (1761), Opera-bouffon, Philidor	Dec. 2, Mmes. Dezi, Dubouchet, Francheville, Cap-Français
Rose et Colas (1764), Opera-comique, Monsigny	Dec. 2, Chevalier, Desforges, Cap-Français
L'Aveugle de Palmyre (1764), Opera-comique, Desfontaines- Rodolphe	Dec. 13, Desroches, Saint-Marc

1776

La Fée Urgèle (1765), Opera, Duni	Jan. 17, Pisset, Acquaire, Boyer, Cap-Français
Le Huron (1768), Opera, Grétry	Jan. 27, Mme. Teisseire, Mlle. Ravaud, Giron, Baron, Cap-Français
Le Devin du village (1752), Opera-pastoral, Rousseau	Feb. 10, Mlle. Thibaudeau, Cap-Français
Les Femmes et le secret (1767), Opera-bouffon, Pierre Vachon (1731-1802)	Feb. 17, . . .
Silvain (1770), Opera, Grétry	March 16, . . .
Rose et Colas (1764), Opera, Monsigny	March 16, . . .
Le Maréchal-ferrant (1761), Opera, Philidor	July 24, . . .
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera-comique, Monsigny	Aug. 28, . . .

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1776 (Continued)	
Les Souliers mordorés (1776), Opera-bouffon, Fridzeri	Sept. 28, . . . .
La Meunière de Gentilly ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, de la Borde	Oct. 26, Dufresne, Cap-Français
Le Sorcier (1764), Opera, Philidor	Nov. 9, . . . .
L'Amoureux de quinze ans (1771), Opera, Martini	Nov. __, . . . .
La Rosière (1773), Opera, Gretry	Nov. __, . . . .
La Colonie (1766), Opera, Antonio Sachinni (1734-1786)	Nov. __, . . . .
L'Erreur d'un moment (1773), Opera, Dezède	Nov. __, . . . .
Tom Jones (1765), Opera, Philidor	Nov. __, . . . .
La Meunière de Gentilly ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, de la Borde	Nov. 9, . . . .
Femmes vengées ( . . ), Opera, Philidor	Nov. 23, Acquaïre, Baron, Cap-Français
Les Souliers mordorés (1776), Opera, Fridzeri	Nov. 23, Pisset, Cap-Français
L'Aveugle de Palmyre (1764), Opera, Rodolphe	Dec. 25, Desroches, Port-au-Prince

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1777	
Les Souliers mordorés (1776), Opera-bouffon, Fridzeri	Jan. 11, . ., . .
Variantes musicales, Granier, Local ensemble	Jan. 11, Pisset, Julien, Cap-Français
La fausse Magie (1775), Opera, Grétry	Feb. 1, Mlle. Dezi, Cap-Français
Toinon et Toinette (1767), Opera, Gossec	Feb. 8, Mme. and Mlle. Teisseire, Cap-Français
Concerto, Local program, (Local composition?)	Feb. 22, Bissery, Cap-Français
Les deux Jardinières ( . .), Opera, Prudent	March 1, . ., . .
L'Erreur d'un moment (1773), Opera, Dezède	March 15, Mlle. Thibaudeau, Cap-Français
La Fausse Magie (1775), Opera, Grétry	May 24, . ., . .
L'Erreur d'un moment (1773), Opera, Dezède	June 18, . ., . .
Le Sourd dupé ( . .), Opera, Bissery (Local composer)	June 21, Bissery, Chinon, Baron, Cap-Français
Le Maréchal-ferrant (1761), Opera, Philidor	Aug. __, . ., . .
Les Chasseurs (1763), Opera-comique, Duni	Aug. __, . ., . .
Lucile (1769), Opera, Grétry	Aug. __, . ., . .

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1777 (Continued)	
Le Devin du village (1752), Opera, Rousseau	Aug. __, . ., . .
Rose et Colas (1764), Opera, Monsigny	Aug. __, . ., . .
Le Jardinier et son seigneur (1761), Opera, Philidor	Aug. __, . ., . .
Les Racoleurs ( . .), Opera, Vadé	Aug. __, . ., . .
Le Cadi dupé (1761), Opera, Monsigny	Aug. __, . ., . .
Le Diable à quatre (1756), Opera, Philidor	Aug. __, . ., . .
Le Bûcheron (1763), Opera, Philidor	Sept. 16, . ., . .
Lucile (1769), Opera, Grétry	Sept. 16, . ., . .
Le Cadi dupé (1761), Opera, Monsigny	Sept. 16, . ., . .
Le Sorcier (1764), Opera, Philidor	Sept. 16, . ., . .
La fausse Magie (1775), Opera, Grétry	Sept. 20, Pisset, Cap-Français
Les Femmes et le secret (1767), Opera-bouffon, Vachon	Sept. 20, . ., . .
La Sérénade de Mme. du Barry ( . .), G. M. Jarnowick (1745-1804)	Sept. 20, . ., . .



Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
Composers

Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

1777 (Continued)

Mariages Samites (1776), Opera, Grétry	Oct. 14, . ., . .
Les Souliers mordorés (1776), Opera-bouffon, Fridzeri	Oct. __, . ., . .
Sérénade ( . .), Francois Beck (1723-1809)	Oct. __, . ., . .
La Rosière (1773), Opera, Grétry	Oct. 14, . ., . .
Le Sorcier (1764), Opera, Philidor	Oct. 14, . ., . .
Le Bûcheron (1763), Opera, Philidor	Oct. 14, . ., . .
Le Tableau parlant (1769), Opera, Grétry	Oct. 14, . ., . .
Isabelle et Gertrude (1765), Opera, Blaise	Oct. 14, . ., . .
Tom Jones (1765), Opera, Philidor	Oct. 14, . ., . .
Le Bailli honnête ( . .), Opera, Henri Moreau (1728-1803)	Nov. 15, Mlle. Thibaudeau, Cap-Français
Sancho-Pança (1762), Opera-bouffon, Philidor	Dec. 23, Delaunay, Port-au-Prince

1778

L'Amant déguisé ( . .), Opera, Philidor	Feb. 7, . ., . .
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Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1778 (Continued)	
Zémire et Azor (1771), Opera, Grétry	Feb. 10, . . , . .
Concert ( . . ), Vocal-Instrumental	Feb. 14, Smith, Cap-Français
L'Amitié a l'épreuve (1770), Opera, Grétry	Feb. 17, . . , . .
La Paysanne curieuse ( . . ), Opera, Mlle. Dezède	Feb. 21, . . , . .
Julie (1772), Opera, Dezède	Feb. 21, . . , . .
Le Soldat magicien (1760), Opera, Philidor	Feb. 21, . . , . .
L'Aveugle de Palmyre (1764), Opera-comique, Rodolphe	Feb. 21, . . , . .
Les Sabots (1768), Opera, Duni	Feb. 21, . . , . .
Le Soldat magicien (1760), Opera, Philidor	March 3, Regnault, Port-au-Prince
Zémire et Azor (1771), Opera, Grétry	March 21, Mlle. Thibaudeau, Cap-Français
Les trois fermiers (1777), Opera, Dezède	March 21, . . , . .
L'Île des Fous (1760), Opera, Duni	March 28, . . , . .
La Servante maîtresse (1733), Opera-bouffon, Pergolesi	April 29, Depoix, Mlle. Dezi, Port-au-Prince

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1778 (Continued)	
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera, Monsigny	May 12, Mlle. Dezi, Depoix, Port-au-Prince
La fausse Magie (1775), Opera, Grétry	June 9, . . . .
Repeat performance: La fausse Magie	June 20, Mme. Dubuisson, Cap-Français
Desirs suspendus ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Pisset (Local composer)	June 30, Pisset, Cap-Français
Sérénade de Mme. du Barry ( . . ), Jarnowick	June 30, . . . .
Concerto de la Fauvette ( . . ), Pisset (Local composer)	June 30, Pisset, Cap-Français
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera, Monsigny	July 7, Defrene, Port-au-Prince
La Fée Urgèle (1765), Opera, Duni	July 7, Mlle. Dezi, Cap-Français
Repeat performance	July 14, Mlle. Dezi, Cap-Français
Sancho-Pança (1762), Opera, Philidor	July 21, . . . .
Les Moissonneurs (1768), Opera, Duni	July 28, Derizan, Port-au-Prince
Le Roi et son fermier (1762), Opera, Monsigny	Aug. 4, Mlle. Dezi, Cap-Français
Zémire et Azor (1771), Opera, Grétry	Aug. 11, Mlle. Dezi, Dufresne, Depoix, Cap-Français

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1778 (Continued)	
La fausse Magie (1775), Opera, Grétry	Aug. 15, . ., . .
Concerto ( . .), Dufresne	Aug. 15, Dufresne, Fontaine, Petit, Charles, Henri, Cap-Français
Les trois Fermiers (1777), Opera, Dezède	Aug. 22, . ., . .
Le Bûcheron (1763), Opera, Philidor	Aug. 25, . ., . .
Blaise le savetier (1759), Philidor	Aug. 25, . ., . .
Tom Jones (1765), Opera, Philidor	Aug. 25, . ., . .
L'Erreur d'un moment (1773), Opera, Dezède	Aug. 25, . ., . .
On ne s'avise jamais de tout (1761), Opera, Monsigny	Aug. 25, . ., . .
La belle Arsène (1773), Opera, Monsigny	Aug. 25, . ., . .
Les Femmes vengées ( . .), Opera, Philidor	Sept. 1, . ., . .
La bonne Fille (1760), Opera, Niccola Piccinni (1728-1800)	Sept. 5, Chevalier, Cap-Français
Concerto ( . .), Jarnowick	Sept. 5, . ., . .
La Fée Urgèle (1765), Opera, Duni	Sept. 15, Mlle. Dezi, Cap-Français

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1778 (Continued)	
Les deux Avarès (1770), Opera, Grétry	Sept. 22, Mlle. Dezi, Cap-Français
Le Magnifique (1773), Opera, Grétry	Oct. 6, Mlle. Dezi, Regnault, Cap-Français
Les Souliers mordorés (1776), Opera, Fridzeri	Oct. 14, . . , . .
La belle Arsène (1773) Opera, Monsigny	Oct. 13, Mlle. Dezi, Depoix, Lapierre, Regnault, . .
Les Souliers mordorés (1776), Opera, Fridzeri	Oct. 20, . . , . .
Les Pêcheurs (1766), Opera-bouffon, Gossec	Oct. 27, Mlle. Livry, Cap-Français
Les trois Fermiers (1777), Opera, Dezède	Oct. 27, . . , . .
L'Ami de la maison (1771), Opera, Gretry	Nov. 3, Mlle. Marthe, Port-au-Prince
Le Huron (1768), Opera, Grétry	Nov. 17, . . , . .
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera, Monsigny	Nov. 24, . . , . .
Les trois Fermiers (1777), Opera, Dezède	Dec. 8, . . , . .
Le Tonnelier (1761), Opera-bouffon, Gossec	Dec. 22, Depoix, Cap-Français

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue Performers, Cities
1779	
La belle Arsène (1773), Opera, Monsigny	Jan. 5, Mlle. Thibaudeau, Cap-Français
Zémire et Azor (1771), Opera, Grétry	Jan. 6, . . , . .
La Fée Urgèle (1765), Opera, Duni	Jan. 12, Mlle. Dezi, Cap-Français
Le Faucon ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Monsigny	Jan. 19, . . , . .
Lucile (1769), Opera, Grétry	Jan. 19, . . , . .
Les deux Avarès (1770), Opera, Grétry	Jan. 26, . . , . .
L'Erreur d'un moment (1773), Opera, Dezède	Jan. 26, . . , . .
La belle Arsène (1773), Opera, Monsigny	Jan. 26, . . , . .
Lucile (1769), Opera, Grétry	Feb. 26, Mlle. Teisseire, Cap-Français
Le Serrurier (1764), Opera Joseph Kahout (1736-1793)	March 9, Depoix, Cap-Français
La Bataille d'Ivry (1783), Opera, Martini	March 26, Mlle. Teisseire, Chevalier, Cap-Français
Silvain (1770), Opera, Grétry	March 26, Mlle. Teisseire, Cap-Français
Concert: ouvertures, concerto, duo, ariettes ( . . ), E. J. Floquet (1748-1785)	March 30, Henri, Simon Pesier, Dasot, Louis, Dufresne, Musiciens du régiment d'Agenois, Cap-Français

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1779 (Continued)	
On ne s'avise jamais de tout (1761), Opera, Monsigny	April 20, . . . .
Blaise le savetier (1759), Opera, Philidor	April 20, . . . .
La fausse Magie (1775), Opera, Grétry	April 20, . . . .
Le Tonnelier (1761), Opera-bouffon, Gossec	April 20, . . . .
La Servant maîtresse (1733), Pergolesi	April 20, . . . .
L'Ami de la maison (1771), Opera, Grétry	April 20, . . . .
Orphée et Euridice (1762), Opera, C. W. Gluck (1714-1787)	June 1, Mlle. Dezi, Berthier, Cap-Français
Concerto ( . . ), Jean-Baptist Davaux (1737-1822)	June 1, Favart, Port-au-Prince
Concerto de flute ( . . ), . . .	June 1, Chevalier, Cap-Français
Concerto de clavecin ( . . ), . . .	June 1, Mlle. Noel, Cap-Français
La fausse Peur ( . . ), Opera, Francois J. Darcis (1756-?)	June 22, Chevalier, Cap-Français
Les deux Avarés (1770), Opera-bouffon, Grétry	July 20, Mlle. Noel, Cap-Français
La Servant maîtress (1733), Opera-bouffon, Pergolesi	July 20, Mlle. Dezi, Cap-Français

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1779 (Continued)	
La fausse Magie (1775), Opera, Grétry	Sept. 14, . . , . .
Concerto sur flûte ( . . ), . . .	Sept. 14, . . , . .
La Servant maîtresse (1733), Opera-bouffon, Pergolesi	Sept. 28, Depoix, Port-au-Prince
La Fête bourgeoise ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, . .	Oct. 5, Mlle. Teisseire, Cap-Français
La bonne Fille (1760), Opera, Piccinni	Oct. 26, Regnault, Cap-Français
Le Tableau parlant (1769), Opera, Grétry	Dec. 7, Mlle. Thibaudeau, Mlle. Narbonne, Baron, Cap-Français
Concerto ( . . ), Dufresne (Local composer)	Dec. 7, Dufresne, Cap-Français
La Fée Urgèle (1765), Opera, Duni	Dec. 7, Baron, Cap-Français
Sérénade ( . . ), Fontaine (Local composer)	Dec. 7, Fontaine, Charles, Cap-Français
La Rosière de Salenci (1773), Opera, Grétry	Dec. 7, Mlle. Noel, Cap-Français
L'Erreur d'un moment (1773), Opera, Dezède	Dec. 7, Campistron, Port-au-Prince
La Fée Urgèle (1765), Opera, Duni	Dec. 14, Baron, Cap-Français
Le Peintre amoureux de son modèle (1757), Opera, Duni	Dec. 14, Depoix, Acquaire, Regnault, Mlle. Langlois, Riviere, Port-au-Prince



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Composition,  
Composers

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in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

1779 (Continued)

Les Racleurs ( . . ),  
Opera, Vade

Dec. 18, . . , . .

1780

La Fée Urgèle (1765),  
Opera, Duni

Jan. 11, Acquaire,  
Port-au-Prince

Les deux Miliciens ( . . ),  
Opera-bouffon, Fridzeri  
(1741-1825)

Jan. 25, . . , . .

La belle Arsène (1773),  
Opera-bouffon, Monsigny

Jan. 25, Mlle. Noel,  
Cap-Français

Théodore ( . . ), Opera,  
E. J. Floquet (1748-1785)

Feb. 8, Durosier,  
Cap-Français

Concert de violoncelle  
( . . ), Local program

Feb. 8, Charles,  
Cap-Français

Le Tableau parlant (1769),  
Opera, Marmontel-Gretry

Feb. 8, . . , . .

Sancho-Pança (1762),  
Opera-bouffon, Philidor

Feb. 8, . . , . .

Allemande ( . . ),  
Danse, Local arrangement

Feb. 8, Mme. et Mlle.  
Teisseire, Cap-Français

La belle Arsène (1773),  
Opera-bouffon, Monsigny

Feb. 11, . . , . .

La bonne Fille (1760),  
Opera, N. Piccinni  
(1728-1800)

Feb. 11, . . , . .

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1780 (Continued)	
Le Peintre amoureux de son modèle (1757), Opera, Duni	Feb. 15, Favard, Port-au-Prince
Le Sorcier (1764), Opera, Philidor	Feb. 15, . . . .
Concert (Local program)	Feb. 22, Mlle. Thibaudeau, Cap-Français
Silvain (1770), Opera, Grétry	March 7, . . . .
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera, Monsigny	March 28, . . . .
Le Tonnelier (1761), Opera, Gossec	March 28, . . . .
La Métromanie ( . . ), Local dance	March 28, . . . .
Tom Jones (1765), Opera, Philidor	March 28, . . . .
Le Tableau parlant (1769), Opera, Grétry	March 28, . . . .
L'Amitié à l'épreuve (1770), Opera, Gretry	March 28, . . . .
Le Maréchal-ferrant (1761), Opera, Philidor	March 28, . . . .
Le Servante maîtresse (1733), Opera, Pergolesi	March 28, . . . .
La fausse Peur ( . . ), Opera, Darcis	March 28, . . . .

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1780 (Continued)	
Tom Jones (1765), Opera, Philidor	April 4, . ., . .
Le Tableau parlant (1769), Opera, Grétry	April 11, . ., . .
Le Cadi dupé (1761), Opera, Monsigny	April 25, Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français
Concerto ( . .), Local performance, Saint-Georges (1745-1799), b. in Guadeloupe	April 25, Joseph, Cap-Français
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera, Monsigny	May 16, Durosier, Mme. et Mlle. Marsan, Cap-Français
La Rosière de Salenci (1773), Opera-bouffon, Grétry	May 23, . ., . .
La fausse Peur ( . .), Opera, Darcis	May 23, . ., . .
Silvain (1770), Opera, Grétry	May 30, . ., . .
Le Peintre amoureux (1757), Opera, Duni	May 30, . ., . .
Le Tableau parlant (1769), Opera, Grétry	May 30, . ., . .
Le Devin du village (1753), Opera, Rousseau	May 30, . ., . .
Zémire et Azor (1771), Opera, Grétry	May 30, . ., . .
Les Aveux indiscrets (1759), Opera, Monsigny	May 30, . ., . .

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1780 (Continued)	
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera, Monsigny	May 30, . . , . .
Rose et Colas (1764), Opera, Monsigny	May 30, . . , . .
Zémire et Azor (1771), Opera, Grétry	June 13, Fogelfang, Port-au-Prince
Silvain (1770), Opera, Grétry	June 27, . . , . .
La fausse Peur ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Darcis	June 27, de Chantemerle, Port-au-Prince
Return performance: La fausse Peur	July 11, Dupontet de Chantemerle, Port-au-Prince
Ariette de la musique rosiere ( . . ), Opera arias from Rosière, Grétry?	July 11, Mlle. Noel, Cap-Français
Le Cadi dupé (1761), Opera, Monsigny	July 11, . . , . .
Le Maréchal-ferrant (1761), Opera, Philidor	July 11, . . , . .
Mazet ( . . ), Opera, Duni	July 11, . . , . .
On ne s'avise jamais de tout (1761), Monsigny	July 11, . . , . .
L'Amant jaloux ( . . ), Opera, Debele-Grétry	Aug. 1, Marsan, Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français
Silvain (1770), Opera, Grétry	Aug. 1, Dupont, . .

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1780 (Continued)	
Le Roi et le fermier (1762), Opera, Monsigny	Aug. 1, . . , . .
Le Devin du village (1752), Opera, Rousseau	Aug. 8, . . , . .
On ne s'avise jamais de tout (1761), Opera, Grétry	Aug. 8, . . , . .
Lucile (1769), Opera, Grétry	Aug. 8, . . , . .
Les deux Chasseurs et la laitière (1763), Opera, Duni	Aug. 8, . . , . .
Tom Jones (1765), Opera, Philidor	Aug. 8, . . , . .
Crispin médecin ( . . ), Opera, . .	Aug. 8, . . , . .
Le Maréchal-ferrant (1761), Opera, Philidor	Aug. 8, . . , . .
La belle Arsène (1773), Opera, Favart-Monsigny	Aug. 8, . . , . .
Le Serrurier (1764), Opera-bouffon, J. Kahout	Aug. 15, . . , . .
La Rosière de Salenci (1773), Opera, Gretry	Aug. 15, . . , . .
La Fée Urgèle (1765), Opera, Duni	Aug. 22, . . , . .
La Bohémienne ( . . ), Opera, Clément	Sept. 12, Mme. Marsan, Gayot (decors), Cap-Français

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1780 (Continued)	
La fausse Magie (1775), Opera, Grétry	Oct. 17, Acquaire, Port-au-Prince
Thérèse et Jeannot ( . . ), Local parody, Clément	Oct. 17, Mme. Acquaire, Goulard, Port-au-Prince
Pas Créole ( . . ), Local ballet, Acquaire	Oct. 17, Fontaine, Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français
La bonne Fille (1760), Opera- bouffon, Caihava-Piccinni	Oct. 24, . . , . .
Le Magnifique (1773), Opera, Grétry	Oct. 31, Regnault, Port-au-Prince
Le Navigateur ( . . ), Opera, Philidor	Oct. 31, Quieroly, Riviere, Fogelfang, Port-au-Prince
Le Devin du village (1752), Opera, Rousseau	Nov. 7, . . , . .
La belle Arsène (1773), Opera, Monsigny	Nov. 7, . . , . .
Repeat performance: La belle Arsene	Nov. 14, . . , . .
Les deux Avars (1770), Opera-bouffon, Grétry	Nov. 14, . . , . .
L'Amant déguisé ( . . ), Opera, Philidor	Nov. 14, . . , . .
Femmes vengées ( . . ), Opera, Dedaine-Philidor	Nov. 21, . . , . .
L'Amoureux de quinze ans (1771), Opera, Martini	Nov. 21, Chevalier, Cap-Français

Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
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Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

1780 (Continued)

Concerto à grand orchestre ( . . ), Concert (Local program)	Nov. 21, . . , . .
Les trois fermiers (1777), Opera-bouffon, Monvel (Dezède)	Nov. 28, . . , . .
L'Aveugle de Palmyre (1764), Opera, Desfontaines et Rodolphe	Dec. 5, Dubourg, Mme. Teisseire, Cap-Français
La Meunière de Gentilly ( . . ), Opera-bouffon	Dec. 12, Mlle. Livry, Cap-Français
Les Femmes et le secret (1767), Opera-bouffon, Vachon	Dec. 12, . . , . .
Menuet ( . . ), Concert, Fischer	Dec. 12, . . , . .
Concert: Stabat Mater (Pergolesi), arias, concerto for flute, violin, oboe, bassoon, symphony	Dec. 19, Acquaïre, Une jeune demoiselle (Minette), Rivière, Macarty, Port-au-Prince

1781

La Fée Urgèle (1765), Opera, Duni	Jan. 2, Depoix, Port-au-Prince
La fausse Magie (1775), Opera, Marmontel-Grétry	Jan. 2, . . , . .
L'Amant jaloux ( . . ), Opera, Grétry	Jan. 2, . . , . .
Divertissement ( . . ), Local program, Montillot	Jan. 9, Mlle. Teisseire, Cap-Français

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1781 (Continued)	
La fausse Magie (1775), Opera-bouffon, Grétry	Jan. 9, . ., . .
L'Amant jaloux ( . .), Opera-bouffon, Grétry	Jan. 16, Mme. Acquaire, Port-au-Prince
Concerto de basson ( . .), Local performance	Jan. 16, Mlle. Noël, Macarty, Port-au-Prince
La Fée Urgèle (1765), Opera, Duni	Feb. 6, Mme. Marsan, Dubuisson, Cap-Français
Le Huron (1768), Opera, Marmontel-Grétry	Feb. 6, . ., . .
Les Sabots (1768), Opera, Sedaine-Duni	Feb. 6, . ., . .
Isabelle et Gertrude (1765), Opera-bouffon, Mms. Favart-Blaise	Feb. 6, Minette, Port-au-Prince
Pas créoles ( . .), Local dance, Acquaire	Feb. 6, Acquaire, Port-au-Prince
Les Souliers mordorés (1776), Opera, Fridzeri	Feb. 20, Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français
La belle Arsène (1765), Opera, Duni	Feb. 20, Macarty, Port-au-Prince
Le Magnifique (1773), Opera, Grétry	Feb. 20, . ., . .
Silvain (1770), Opera, Marmontel-Grétry	Feb. 27, Minette, Port-au-Prince
La fausse Magie (1775), Opera, Marmontel-Grétry	March 6, . ., . .



Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1781 (Continued)	
Isabelle et Gertrude (1765), Opera, Blaise	March 13, Minette, Port-au-Prince
Maître en droit ( . . ), Opera, Monsigny	March 17, Macarty, Port-au-Prince
Le Cadi dupé (1770), Opera, Saurin-Monsigny	March 27, Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français
Les trois Fermiers (1777), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	March 27, . . , . .
Concerto ( . . ), Local program	March 27, Macarty (Woodwind), Port-au-Prince
Concert: Ariettes, solo de guitare, basson, hautbois, Local program	April 10, Macarty, Mme. Acquaire, Mlle. Noël, Acquaire, Port-au-Prince
Concert ( . . ), Local program	April 10, Minette, Port-au-Prince
Menuet ( . . ), Local program, Fischer	April 10, Nelanger, . .
Le Magnifique (1773), Opera, Grétry	April 17, . . , . .
Les Souliers mordorés (1776), Opera, Fridzeri	April 17, . . , . .
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera, Monsigny	April 17, . . , . .
On ne s'avise jamais de tout (1761), Opera, Grétry	April 17, Mme. Acquaire, Minette, Port-au-Prince
Le Maréchal-ferrant (1761), Opera, Philidor	April 17, . . , . .

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1781 (Continued)	
On ne s'avise jamais de tout (1761), Opera, Monsigny	April 24, Minette, Mme. Acquaire, Port-au-Prince
Les Souliers mordorés (1776), Opera, Fridzeri	May 22, . . . .
Concerto ( . . ), Local program, Punto (Johann W. Stich, 1755-1803)	May 22, Béacre (Fr. Horn), Port-au-Prince
Zémire et Azor (1771), Opera, Grétry	June 5, Minette, Port-au-Prince
La belle Arsène (1773), Opera, Monsigny	July 31, Minette, Peyret (decors), Port-au-Prince
Les trois Fermiers (1777), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	Sept. 11, Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français
L'Amoureux de quinze ans (1771), Opera, Laujon-Martini	Sept. 26, Minette, Mme. Acquaire, Mlle. Noël, Port-au-Prince
L'Angloise ( . . ), Local dance	Oct. 2, Mlle. Teisseire, Cap-Français
Toinon et Toinette (1767), Opera, Gossec	Oct. 2, Minette, Port-au-Prince
L'Erreur d'un moment (1773), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	Oct. 23, . . . .
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera, Sedaine et Monsigny	Oct. 30, . . . .
Thérèse et Jeannot (1758?), Local parody, Clément	Oct. 30, . . . Cap-Français
Danse créole ( . . ), Local ballet, Acquaire	Oct. 30, Acquaire, Port-au-Prince

Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
Composers

Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

## 1781 (Continued)

Le Jugement de Midas (1778), Opera, Grétry	Nov. 13, Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français
Sara ou la fermière écossaise (1783), Opera, Vachon	Nov. 13, Mme. Acquaire, Minette, Port-au-Prince
Concerto ( . . ), Local program	Nov. 13, Macarty, Port-au-Prince
La Fée Urgèle (1765), Opera, Duni	Nov. 13, Mlle. Marthe, Ripert, Goulard, Port-au-Prince
Le Diable à quatre (1756), Opera, Philidor	Nov. 20, Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français
Concerto ( . . ), Local program	Nov. 20, Julien, Petit, Charles, Cap-Français
La Fille mal gardée (1763), Opera-bouffon, Duni	Dec. 11, Depoix, Saint-Marc
Les Événements imprévus (1779), Opera, Grétry	Dec. 11, Regnault, Port-au-Prince
Les trois Fermiers (1777), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	Dec. 29, Mlle. Marthe, Minette, Port-au-Prince

## 1782

Le Sabot perdu ( . . ), Opera, Michel de la Barré (1674-1743)	Jan. 2, . . , . .
Les Événements imprévus (1779), Opera, Grétry	Jan. 5, . . , . .
La Fée Urgèle (1765), Opera, Duni	Jan. 9, Petit, Cap-Français

Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
Composers

Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

## 1782 (Continued)

Silvain (1770), Opera, Grétry	Jan. 16, . ., . .
La Bataille d'Ivry ( . .), Opera, Martini	Jan. 19, Faverolles, Port-au-Prince
Symphonie ( . .), Davaux, Local concert	Jan. 19, Fligre (Violin, Keyboard), Port-au-Prince
La Colonie (1766), Opera-bouffon, Sacchini	Jan. 23, Depoix, Port-au-Prince
La belle Arsène (1773), Opera, Monsigny	Jan. 30, Mme. Dubuisson, . .
Concerto clarinette, violin, harpe et clavecin ( . .), Local concert	Feb. 2, . ., . .
Mariages samites (1776), Opera, Grétry	Feb. 23, Mlle. Doligny, Port-au-Prince
L'Amitié a l'épreuve (1770), Opera, Gretry	Feb. 27, . ., . .
Symphonie ( . .), Cambini, Local concert	Feb. 27, Petit, Fontaine, Montillot, Cap-Français
Orphée et Euridice (1762), Opera, Gluck	March 2, . ., . .
La fausse Magie (1775), Opera-bouffon, Grétry	April 13, Depoix, Port-au-Prince
Jugement de Midas (1778), Opera, Grétry	April 24, Petit, Cap-Français
Concerto ( . .), Jarnowick, Local concert	April 24, . ., Cap-Français

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1782 (Continued)	
Les Souliers mordorés (1776), Opera-bouffon, Fridzeri	April 27, Macarty, Port-au-Prince
La belle Arsène (1773), Opera, Favart-Monsigny	May 1, Durosier, Cap-Français
Les Évènements imprévus (1779), Grétry	May 8, Regnault, Port-au-Prince
Symphonie concertante ( . . ), Local program	May 8, Petit, Charles, Cap-Français
La fausse Magie (1775), Opera, Grétry	May 11, . . , . .
Le Diable à quatre (1756), Opera, Philidor	May 11, . . , . .
On ne s'avise jamais de tout (1761), Opera, Monsigny	May 11, . . , . .
Les trois Fermiers (1777), Opera, Dezède	May 11, . . , . .
Les Femmes et le secret (1767), Opera, Vachon	May 11, . . , . .
Les Vendangeurs ou les deux baillis ( . . ), Opera, Piis-Barré	May 15, . . , . .
L'Amant jaloux ( . . ), Opera, Grétry	May 22, Mlle. Leclerc (Le Clair), Saint-Marc
Chaconne ( . . ), Concert, Mahoni LeBreton (in Paris c. 1760)	May 22, Charles (Strings, bassoon), Cap-Français
Zémire et Azor (1771), Opera, Grétry	May 22, Dubuisson, Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français

Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
Composers

Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

1782 (Continued)

Les Femmes et le secret (1767), Opera, Vachon	June __, . ., . .
Les Clochettes (1766), Opera, Duni	June __, . ., . .
Le Tonnelier (1761), Opera, Audinot-Gossec	June __, . ., . .
Le Serrurier (1764), Opera, Kahout	June __, . ., . .
L'Amoureux de quinze ans (1771), Opera, Martini	June __, . ., . .
Le Bûcheron (1763), Opera, Philidor	June __, . ., . .
L'Erreur d'un moment (1773), Opera, Dezède	June __, . ., . .
Le Jardinier supposé ( . .), Opera, Philidor	June 19, Mme. Marsan, Durville, Cap-Français
La fausse Magie (1775), Opera, Grétry	July 17, Mlle. Leroy, Cap-Français
Concerto: Ouverture to la Rosière, duo from la fausse Magie ( . .), Local program	July 27, Henri, Louis (Clarinetists), Cap-Français
Julie (1772), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	July 31, Favard, Mme. Marsan, Mme. La Barre, Cap-Français
L'Amoureux de quinze ans (1771), Opera, Martini	Aug. 7, Mme. Marsan, Mlle. Caillé, Mme. La Barré, Mme. Dubuisson, Mlle. Leclair, Regnault, Durosier, Clément, Dupontet de Chantemerle, Dubourg; Cap-Français

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1782 (Continued)	
La fausse Peur ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Darcis	Aug. 10, . . , . .
Le Sabot perdu ( . . ), Opera, Piis-Barré	Aug. 24, Minette, Port-au-Prince
Zémire et Azor (1771), Opera, Grétry	Sept. 28, Mme. Acquaire, Depoix, Port-au-Prince
L'Infante de Zamora ( . . ), Opera, Frameri	Oct. 12, Depoix, Port-au-Prince
Les Souliers mordorés (1776), Opera-bouffon, Fridzeri	Oct. 19, Amateurs, . . .
L'Isle des Fous (1786), Opera-bouffon, Nicolas Dalayrac (1753-1809)	Nov. 16, Depoix, Minette, Mme. Acquaire, Port-au-Prince
La Ballet de Promethee ( . . ), Pantomime musical	Nov. 16, Mlle. Noël, Acquaire, Faverolles, Port-au-Prince
Les Souliers mordorés (1776), Opera-bouffon, Fridzeri	Nov. 30, Amateurs, . . .
La fausse Magie (1775), Opera, Grétry	Dec. 7, Mme. Acquaire, Amateurs, Henri, Port-au-Prince
Silvain (1770), Opera, Grétry	Dec. 11, Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français
Zémir et Azor (1771), Opera, Marmontel-Grétry	Dec. 18, Dubuisson, Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français
Concert: Ouverture to l'Olympiade, vocal and instru- mental concert, Sacchini	Dec. 21, Minette, Port-au-Prince

Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
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Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

## 1782 (Continued)

Symphonie concertante ( . . ),  
Davaud (sic), Jean-Baptist  
Davaux (1737-1822)

Dec. 21, Fligre (violinist),  
Port-au-Prince

L'Amant jaloux ( . . ),  
Opera, Grétry

Dec. 25, Mme. Caillé, Mme.  
Marsan, Cap-Français

## 1783

Les Sabots perdus ( . . ),  
Opera-comique, Piis-Barré

Jan. 8, . . , . .

Concert: Vocal and  
instrumental

Jan. 8, Charles, Mme.  
Marsan, Cap-Français

Zémire et Azor (1771),  
Opera, Grétry

Jan. 11, Minette,  
Port-au-Prince

Thérèse et Jeannot (1758);  
Local parody, Clément

Jan. 15, Dainville, Mme.  
Marsan, Cap-Français

L'Infante de Zamora ( . . ),  
Opera feerique, Frameri

Jan. 18, Depoix,  
Port-au-Prince

L'Olympiade (1763), Opera,  
Framerl-Sacchini

Jan. 22, Mme. Teissiere,  
Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français

Allemande ( . . ),  
Local dance

Jan. 22, Durosier, Mlle.  
Teisseire, Mlle. Dubourg,  
Cap-Français

La fausse Magie (1775),  
Opera, Grétry

Jan. 29, Mlle. Leroy,  
Cap-Français

La Fée Urgèle (1765),  
Opera, Favart-Duni

Feb. 15, Mlle. Noel,  
Cap-Français

Lucile (1769),  
Opera-comique, Grétry

Feb. 19, . . , . .



Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1783 (Continued)	
Silvain (1770), Opera-bouffon, Grétry	Feb. 26, Dubourg, Dubuisson, Dainville, Mme. Teisseire, Marsan, Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français
Divertissement ( . . ), Montillot, Local composer	Feb. 26, Montillot, Cap-Français
La Rosière de Salensi (1773), Opera, . .	Feb. 26, Mlle. Fleury, Dubourg, Cap-Français
La belle Arsène (1773), Opera, Favart	March 1, Fligre, Depoix, Port-au-Prince
Concert: Vocal and instrumental	March 5, Petit, Cap-Français
Les Femmes vengées ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Sedaine-Philidor	March 15, Fligre, Port-au-Prince
La belle Arsène (1773), Opera, Favart	March 15, Fligre, Port-au-Prince
La Rosière de Salensi (1773), Opera, Gretry	March 26, Charles, Cap-Français
Concerto ( . . ), M. Jarnowick	April 2, Petit, Mlle. Dubourg, Mlle. Teisseire, . .
L'Amoureux de quinze ans (1771), Opera, Martini	May 17, . . , Port-au-Prince
La bonne Fille (1760), Opera, Piccinni	May 17, . . , Port-au-Prince
La Bûcheron (1763), Opera, Philidor	May 17, . . , . . Port-au-Prince
L'Amant jaloux ( . . ), Opera, Grétry	May 17, . . , Port-au-Prince

Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
Composers

Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

1783 (Continued)

Lucile (1769), Opera, Grétry	May 17, . . , Port-au-Prince
L'Erreur d'un moment (1773), Opera, Dezède	May 17, . . , Port-au-Prince
L'Infante de Zamore ( . . ), Opera, . .	May 17, . . , Port-au-Prince
Le Maréchal-ferrant (1761), Opera, Philidor	May-June, . . , Saint-Marc
La Mélomanie (1781), Opera, Stanislas Champein (1758-1830)	May-June, . . , Saint-Marc
La Paysanne curieuse ( . . ), Opera, Mlle. Dezède	May-June, . . , Saint-Marc
Tom Jones (1765), Opera, Philidor	May-June, . . , Saint-Marc
Le Peintre amoureux (1757), Opera, Duni	May-June, . . , Saint-Marc
La Rosière (1773), Opera, Gretry	May-June, . . , Saint-Marc
La Laitière (1763), Opera, Duni	May-June, . . , Saint-Marc
Zémire et Azor (1771), Opera, Grétry	May-June, . . , Saint-Marc
Les Mariages samnites (1776), Opera, Grétry	May-June, . . , Saint-Marc
Sara (1783), Opera, Vachon	May-June, . . , Saint-Marc

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1783 (Continued)	
L'Olympiade (1763), Opera, Sacchini	May-June, . . , Saint-Marc
Le Devin du village (1752), Opera pastoral, Rousseau	May 24, Dainville, Port-au-Prince
Le Bouquet disputé (1783), Opera, Bisseri, Local composer	June 18, Bisseri, Cap-Français
Symphonie concertante ( . . ), Student concert	June 25, Joseph-César (Music teacher), Cap-Français
Zémire et Azor (1771), Opera feerie, Grétry	July 8, Petit, Cap-Français
Concerto ( . . ), Concert, Jarnowick	July 8, Julien, Dufresne, Cap-Français
Anglaise ( . . ), Local dance, Acquaire	July 8, Acquaire, Port-au-Prince
La belle Arsène (1773), Opera- feerie, Favart-Monsigny	July 12, Acquaire, Petit, Port-au-Prince
Symphonique ( . . ), Concert, Davaux	July 12, Pepe, Julian, Port-au-Prince
Aucassin et Nicolette (1779), Opera, Grétry	July 16, Fontaine, Cap-Français
Orphée et Euridice (1762), Opera, Gluck	July 26, . . , . .
Les trois Fermiers (1777), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	Aug. 2, Mme. Duclos, Saint-Marc
Solo de Harpe ( . . ), Concert	Sept. 3, Fligre, Port-au-Prince

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1783 (Continued)	
Zémire et Azor (1771), Opera, Grétry	Oct. 1, Lundi, Mme. Marsan, Durosier, Regnault, Cap-Français
La belle Arsène (1773), Opera, Monsigny	Oct. 15, Fontaine, Cap-Français
La Fille mal gardée (1759), Opera-bouffon, Duni	Oct. 25, Acquaire, Depoix, Port-au-Prince
Sonata ( . . ), Concert, Voice and cello	Oct. 25, Minette, Capron, Port-au-Prince
Les Raccoleurs ( . . ), Opera, Vadé	Nov. 1, Saint-Martin, Port-au-Prince
Concerto ( . . ), Concert	Nov. 1, Dainville, Mlle. Marthe, Depoix, Blainville, Favard, Delaunay, Saint- Loup, Mlle. Noel, Mlle. Langlois, Minette, Petit, Amateur, Port-au-Prince
La Rosière de Salenci (1773), Opera, Grétry	Nov. 5, Mlle. Caille, Cap-Français
Le Sabot perdu ( . . ), Opera, Piis-Barré	Nov. 5, Lundi Durosier, Cap-Français
L'Infante de Zamora ( . . ), Opera, Giovanni Paisiello (1741-1816)	Nov. 12, Regnault, Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français
Aucassin et Nicolette (1779), Opera, Sedaine-Grétry	Nov. 15, Minette, Dain- ville, Favart, Acquaire, Port-au-Prince
Les trois Fermiers (1777), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	Nov. 19, Mme. Marsan, Mme. Dubuisson, Cap-Français

Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
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Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

## 1783 (Continued)

L'Infante de Zamora ( . . ), Opera, Paisiello	Nov. 19, Durosier, Iundi, Regnault, Cap-Français
La Fée Urgèle (1765), Opera, Duni	Nov. 29, Mlle. Noel, Port-au-Prince
Concerto Ariette à grand orchestra ( . . ), Jarnowick	Nov. 29, Petit, Amateur, Cap-Français
La Servante maîtresse (1773), Opera, Pergolesi	Dec. 6, Minette, Pepe Port-au-Prince
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera, Monsigny	Dec. 10, Durand, Cap-Français
La Fée Urgèle (1765), Opera, Favart-Duni	Dec. 17, Dubuisson, Cap-Français
Le Roi et le fermier (1762), Opera, Monsigny	Dec. 17, Durand, Cap-Français
Zémire et Azor (1771), Opera, Marmontel-Grétry	Dec. 24, Chinon, Durand, Cap-Français

## 1784

Les Amours d'été ( . . ), Opera, Piis-Barre	Jan. 3, Dainville, Port-au-Prince
Lucile (1769), Opera, Grétry	Jan. 3, . . .
La belle Arsène (1773), Opera, Favart-Monsigny	Jan. 21, Mlle. Livry, Cap-Français
Félix ou L'Enfant trouvé (1777), Opera, Sedaine et Monsigny	Jan. 21, Mlle. Leroy, Mme. Marsan, Amateur, Cap-Français

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1784 (Continued)	
La Rosière de Salenci (1773), Grétry	Jan. 24, Amphoux, Mme. Charpentier, Les Cayes
Thérèse et Jeannot (1758), Local parody, Clément	Jan. 28, Amateur, Cap-Français
Calenda ( . . ), Danse negre, Local dance	Jan. 28, Durosier, Cap-Français
Le Reine de Golconde (1766), Opera, Monsigny	Feb. 11, Durand, Mlle. Teisseire, Cap-Français
Divertissements ( . . ), Dance, Local dance	Feb. 11, Amateur, . .
Les Souliers mordorés (1776), Opera, Sedaine-Fridzeri	Feb. 11, . . , . .
Thérèse et Jeannot (1758), Local parody, Clément	Feb. 11, Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français
Julie (1772), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	Feb. 21, Derizan, . .
La Rosière de Salenci (1773), Opera, Marmontel-Grétry	March 5, Dubourg, Cap-Français
Le Savetier et le financier (1778), Opera, H. Joseph Rigel (1741-1799)	March 5, Fligre, Port-au-Prince
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera, Monsigny	March 13, Durand, Cap-Français
La belle Arsène (1773), Opera, Monsigny	March 13, Mme. Caze, . .
Le Huron (1768), Opera, Grétry	March 20, Durand, Petit, Cap-Français

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1784 (Continued)	
La Mélomanie (1781), Opera, Champein	March 20, . . . .
L'Erreur d'un moment (1773), Opera, Dezède	May 8, . . . .
On ne s'avise jamais de tout (1761), Opera, Monsigny	May 8, . . . .
Aristote amoureux ( . . ), Opera, Piis-Barré	May 8, . . . .
La Paysanne curieuse ( . . ), Opera, Mlle. Dezède	May 8, . . . .
La fausse Magie (1775), Opera, Grétry	May 8, . . . .
La Matinée villageoise ( . . ), Opera, . .	May 8, Dainville, Port-au-Prince
Cassandre occuliste ( . . ), Opera, Piis-Barré	May 8, Mme. Delozide, Cap-Français
Repeat performance: Cassandre occuliste	May 25, Mme. Delozide, Cap-Français
La Rosière de Salenci (1773), Opera-bouffon, Grétry	July 28, Mme. Marsan, Dupontet, Blattman, Amateur, Cap-Français
L'Amant jaloux ( . . ), Opera, Grétry	Aug. 14, . . . .
Les Événements imprévus (1779), Opera, Grétry	Sept. 1, Romanville, Cap-Français
Le Jugement de Midas (1778), Opera, Grétry	Sept. 8, Fontaine, Cap-Français

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1784 (Continued)	
La Mélomanie (1781), Opera, Champein	Sept. 8, . . , . .
La Sorcière par hasard (1768), Opera, Nicolas E. Framery (1745-1810)	Sept. 15, Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français
Chaconne ( . . ), Dance, Lebreton	Sept. 22, Clairville, Cap-Français
L'Infante de Zamora ( . . ), Opera, Paisiello	Sept. 22, Mme. Marsan, Mme. Clairville, Mlle. Caille, Cap-Français
La belle Arsène (1773), Opera, Monsigny	Oct. 6, Mme. Larue, Mme. Marsan, Mme. Dubuisson, Cap-Français
Concerto ( . . ); Jarnowick	Oct. 9, Petit, Cap-Français
La Mélomanie (1781), Opera, Champein	Oct. 16, Acquaire, Port-au-Prince
Felix ou L'Enfant trouvé (1777), Monsigny	Oct. 20, Mme. Clair- ville, Cap-Français
La Mélomanie (1781), Opera, Champein	Oct. 27, Mme. Delozide, Mme. Vidini, Cap-Français
Orphée et Euridice (1762), Opera, Gluck	Oct. 27, Bucquet, Mme. Marsan, Mme. Clairville, Fontaine, Bertelet (Decors), Cap-Français
Blaise et Babet (1783), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	Oct. 30, Mme. Acquaire, Port-au-Prince
Aucassin et Nicolette (1779), Opera, Grétry	Nov. 3, Dubuisson, Cap-Français



Works, Dates of  
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Announcement Dates  
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Performers, Cities

## 1784 (Continued)

La belle Arsène (1773),  
Opera, Favart-Monsigny

Nov. 13, Clairville,  
Cap-Français

Julie (1772),  
Opera, Dezède

Nov. 27, Goulard,  
Port-au-Prince

Acajou ( . . ), Opera-feerique,  
J. B. Moulinghem (1751-?)

Dec. 4, Mme. Labarre, Mme.  
Acquaire, Port-au-Prince

Les deux Morts ( . . ),  
Opera, . .

Dec. 8, Mme. Delozide,  
Cap-Français

Blaise et Babet (1783),  
Opera, Monvel-Dezède

Dec. 11, Minette,  
Port-au-Prince

Les Voyages de Rosine ( . . ),  
Opera, Piis-Barré

Dec. 11, Mlle. Noel,  
Cap-Français

La belle Arsène (1773),  
Opera, Favart-Monsigny

Dec. 22, Mme. Marsan,  
Cap-Français

Allemande ( . . ),  
Dance

Dec. 22, Mme. Delozide,  
Mme. Teisseire, Dupontet,  
Amateur, Cap-Français

L'Amant jaloux ( . . ),  
Opera, Debele-Grètry

Dec. 25, Goulard,  
Port-au-Prince

## 1785

Faux Lord (1783), Opera,  
Piccinni, Piis-Barré

Jan. 5, Mlle. Caillé, Lundi,  
Cap-Français

La Fée Urgèle (1765),  
Opera, Favart-Duni

Jan. 15, Mme. Acquaire,  
Port-au-Prince

Duo: I' Iphigénie ( . . ),  
Gluck

Jan. 15, Durand, Minette,  
Port-au-Prince

Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
Composers

Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

1785 (Continued)

Blaise et Babet (1783), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	Jan. 19, Marsan, Cap-Français
L'Ami de la maison (1771), Opera, Marmontel-Grétry	Jan. 22, Denis, . .
Les trois Sultanes ( . . ), Opera-lyrique, Favart	Jan. 25, Mlle. Livry, Cap-Français
Blaise et Babet (1783), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	Feb. 2, Clement, Cap-Français
Repeat performance: Blaise et Babet	Feb. 19, Amateur, . .
Concerto ( . . ), Jarnowick	Feb. 19, Petit, Port-au-Prince
Ariette italienne ( . . ), Vocal recital	Feb. 19, Minette, Port-au-Prince
L'Eclipse totale ( . . ), Opera, Dalayrac	Feb. 23, . . , . .
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera, Sedaine-Monsigny	Feb. 26, Mme. Le Sage, Port-au-Prince
Droit du Seigneur (1783), Opera, Desfontaines-Martini	Feb. 26, Durand, Cap-Français
L'Anglaise ( . . ), Dance	March 2, Mlle. Teisseire, Port-au-Prince
Le Savetier et le financier ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Rigel	March 12, . . , . .
L'Épreuve villageoise ( . . ), Opera, Desforgues-Grétry	April 13, . . , . .

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1785 (Continued)	
Les Sabots (1768), Opera, Duni	April 13, . . . .
Les Souliers mordorés (1776), Opera, Fridzeri	April 20, Mlle. Vidini, Cap-Français
Les deux Chasseurs et la laitière (1763), Opera, Duni	May __, . . . Les Cayes
Les trois Fermiers (1777), Opera, Dezède	May __, . . . Les Cayes
Rose et Colas (1764), Opera, Monsigny	May __, . . . Les Cayes
La Mélomanie (1781), Opera, Champein	May __, . . . Les Cayes
L'Amant jaloux ( . . ), Opera, . .	May __, . . . Les Cayes
La bonne Fille (1760), Opera, Piccinni	May 11, . . . .
Aucassin et Nicolette (1779), Opera, . .	May 11, . . . .
L'Épreuve villageoise ( . . ), Opera, Desforges-Grétry	May 27, . . . .
Faux Lord (1783), Opera, Piccinni, Père et Fils	May 27, . . . .
Silvain (1770), Opera, Marmontel-Grétry	June 4, Denis, Mlle. Teisseire, Port-au-Prince
Blaise et Babet (1783), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	June 4, Foucard, Port-au-Prince

Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
Composers

Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

1785 (Continued)

Concerto de Clarinet	—	June 4, Foucard, Port-au-Prince
Le Tableau parlant (1769), Opera, Grétry		June 18-19, . . , Port-au-Prince
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera, Monsigny		June 18-19, . . , Port-au-Prince
Rose et Colas (1764), Opera, Monsigny		June 18-19, . . , Port-au-Prince
Les Souliers mordorés (1776), Opera, Fridzeri		June 18-19, . . , Port-au-Prince
Le Sorcier (1764), Opera, Philidor		June 18-19, . . , Port-au-Prince
Les deux Rubans (1784), Opera, Charles Deblois (1737-?)		Aug. 4, Schebert, Port-au-Prince
Faux Lord (1783), Opera, Piccinni		Sept. 7, . . , . .
La fausse Peur ( . . ), Opera, Darcis		Sept. 7, . . , . .
Les Femmes et le secret (1767), Opera, Vachon		Sept. 7, . . , . .
Faux Lord (1783), Opera, Piccinni		Sept. 7, Acquaire, Berthier, Port-au-Prince
La Fée Urgèle (1765), Opera, Duni		Sept.-Oct., . . , Port-au-Prince
Les Sabots (1768), Opera, Duni		Sept.-Oct., . . , Port-au-Prince

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1785 (Continued)	
La Mélomanie (1781), Opera, Champein	Sept.-Oct., . . , Port-au-Prince
On ne s'avise jamais de tout (1761), Opera, Monsigny	Sept.-Oct., . . , Port-au-Prince
Le Faux Lord (1783), Opera, Piccinni	Sept.-Oct., Petit, Port-au-Prince
Le Magnifique (1773), Opera, Grétry	Sept.-Oct., . . , Port-au-Prince
Annette et Lubin (1762), Opera, Blaise	Sept.-Oct., . . , Port-au-Prince
L'Épreuve villageoise ( . . ), Opera, Desforgues-Grétry	Sept.-Oct., Minette, Port-au-Prince
Le Valet opérateur ( . . ), Opera, . .	Sept.-Oct., . . , Port-au-Prince
Le Marechal-ferrant (1761), Opera, Philidor	Sept.-Oct., . . , Port-au-Prince
La belle Arsène (1773), Opera, Monsigny	Sept.-Oct., . . , Port-au-Prince
Les Troquers (1753), Opera, Dauvergne	Sept.-Oct., . . , Port-au-Prince
Sabot perdu et retrouvé ( . . ), Opera, Pils-Barré	Sept. 14, . . , . .
Faux Lord (1783), Opera, Piccinni	Sept. 17, Acquaire, Petit, Port-au-Prince
L'Infante de Zamora ( . . ), Opera, Paisiello	Sept. 24, Mme. Duclos, Mme. Labarre, Mlle. Caillé, Dugni, Cap-Français

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1785 (Continued)	
Concerto de Clarinette, Anton(?) Stamitz (1754-1820)	Sept. 24, Duclos, Faverolle, Cap-Français
La Fée Urgèle (1765), Opera, Duni	Sept. 28, Caronville, Cap-Français
Concerto de violon	Sept. 28, Billon, Cap-Français
Iphigenie en Tauride (1774), Opera, Gluck	Sept. 28, Romanville, Cap-Français
L'Épreuve réciproque ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Desforges-Grétry	Oct. 1, Minette, Port-au-Prince
Concerto ( . . ), Jarnowick	Oct. 1, Petit, Port-au-Prince
Symphonie ( . . ), Billon (Local composer)	Oct. 12, Billon, Cap-Français
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera, Monsigny	Oct. 19, Saint-Leger, Mlle. Saint Foix, Cap-Français
Ouverture, Gluck, Concert	Oct. 22, Petit, Welcker, Port-au-Prince
La Bataille d'Ivry (1783), Opera, de Rozoy-Martini	Oct. 29, Dainville, Port-au-Prince
Blaise et Babet (1783), Opera, Monzel-Dezède	Nov. 9, Mlle. Delor, Cap-Français
La Mélomanie (1781), Opera, Champein	Nov. 9, . . .
Les deux Tuteurs (1785), Opera, Dalayrac	Nov. 16, . . .

Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
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Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

## 1785 (Continued)

La Mélomanie (1781), Opera, Champein	Dec. 7, Mme. Chevalier, Cap-Français
La bonne Fée ( . . ), Opera, Champein	Dec. 7, . . , . .
Symphonie, Pons (Violin and piano recital)	Dec. 7, Pons, Père et fils, Cap-Français
Les Amours d'été ( . . ), Opera, Pils-Barré	Dec. 17, . . , . .
Quateur de Clarinette	Dec. 17, Foucard, Port-au-Prince
Le Devin du village (1752), Opera, Rousseau	Dec. 21, Dubuisson, Cap-Français
Le Peintre amoureux de son modèle (1757), Opera, Duni	Dec. 24, Mme. LeBarre, Cap-Français

## 1786

Le Jugement de Midas (1778), Opera, Grétry	Jan. 4, Julien, Cap-Français
Le Tableau parlant (1769), Opera, Grétry	Jan. 4, . . , . .
Les Vendangeurs ( . . ), Opera, Pils-Barré	Jan. 7, Resmond, Port-au-Prince
Alexis et Justine (1785), Lyric opera, Monvel-Dezède	Jan. 7, . . , . .
Blaise et Babet (1783), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	Jan. 11, Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1786 (Continued)	
Le Tonnelier (1761), Opera-comique, Gossec	Jan. 11, Julien, Cap-Français
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera, Monsigny	Jan. 11, Saint-Leger, Cap-Français
Concerto ( . . ), Jarnowick	Jan. 11, Petit, Port-au-Prince
L'Infante de Zamora ( . . ), Opera, Paisiello	Jan. 14, Acquaire, Port-au-Prince
La belle Arsène (1773), Opera, Favart-Monsigny	Jan. 25, Lundi, Mme. Dubuisson, Cap-Français
Les deux Chasseurs et la laitière (1763), Opera, Duni	Jan. 25, Mme. Bourgeois, Saint Leger, Cap-Français
Alexis et Justine (1785), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	Jan. 25, Julien, Cap-Français
L'Amant jaloux ( . . ), Opera, . .	Jan. 25, Romanville, Cap-Français
L'Infante de Zamora ( . . ), Opera, Paisiello	Jan. 28, Acquaire, Port-au-Prince
Le Devin du village (1752), Opera, Rousseau	Jan. 28, Amphoux, Amateur, Saint-Marc
Ninette a Cour (1755), Opera, Favart-Duni	Feb. 1, Mme. Dubuisson, Cap-Français
Les Racleurs ( . . ), Opera-comique, Vadé	Feb. 1, Julien, Cap-Français
Les Événements imprévus (1779), Opera, Grétry	Feb. 1, Donis, Cap-Français



Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1786 (Continued)	
La Mélomanie (1781), Opera, Champein	Feb. 1, . . , . .
Felix (1777), Opera, Sedaine-Monsigny	Feb. 1, Regnault, Cap-Français
La Servant maîtresse (1733), Opera, Pergolesi	Feb. 1, . . , . .
Concerto (Local violinist)	Feb. 1, Joseph, Cap-Français
Blaise et Babet (1783), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	Feb. 11, Mme. Deresmond, Port-au-Prince
Les deux Chasseurs (1763), Opera-comique, Duni	Feb. 11, Texier, Port-au-Prince
Orphée et Euridice (1762), Opera, Gluck	Feb. 15, Julien, Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français
La Caravane (1783), Opera, Grétry	Feb. 22, Julien, Cap-Français
Orphée et Euridice (1762), Opera, Gluck	Feb. 22 , . . , . .
La belle Arsène (1773), Opera, Favart-Monsigny	Feb. 22, . . , . .
Zémire et Azor (1771), Opera, Grétry	Feb. 22, . . , . .
Les trois Fermiers (1777), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	Feb. 25, . . , . .
Alexis et Justine (1785), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	March 4, Duval, Rivière, Les Cayes

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1786 (Continued)	
Le Retour du printemps, Concert, Rivière	March 4, . . , Les Cayes
La Foire du Caire ( . . ), Opera, Grétry	March 8, Julien, Cap-Français
Docteurs modernes ( . . ), Opera-comique, . .	March 8, Mme. Delarue, Cap-Français
L'Épreuve villageoise ( . . ), Opera, Desforges-Grétry	March 11, Mme. Labarre, Cap-Français
La fausse Magie (1775), Opera, Grétry	March 15, Pons, Cap-Français
La Colonie (1766), Opera, Sacchini	March 15, Julien, Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français
Lucile (1769), Opera, Grétry	March 15, . . , . .
Figaro, directeur des marionnettes ( . . ), Opera-comique, . .	March 18, Mlle. Teisseire, Denis, Port-au-Prince
L'Épreuve villageoise ( . . ), Opera, Grétry	March 18, . . , . .
Vocal recital	March 18, Mme. Juliani, Port-au-Prince
Blaise et Babet (1783), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	March 22, . . , . .
Titon et L'Aurore (1750), Opera, Bernard de Bury (1720-?)	March 22, Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français
La Rosière (1773), Opera, Grétry	March 22, Julien, Cap-Français

Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
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Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

1786 (Continued)

La fausse Magie (1775), Opera, Grétry	April 19, . . . .
L'Amant statue (1785), Opera, Dalayrac	April 19, . . . Cap-Français
Les trois Sultanes (1761), Opera, P. C. Gibert (1717-1787)	April 26, Mme. Marsan, Mme. Clairville, Cap-Français
L'Amant statue (1785), Opera, Dalayrac	May 3, Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français
La Mélomanie (1781), Opera, Champein	May 20, . . . .
Concert: vocal et instrumental ( . . ), Gluck, Piccinni	May 31, Mme. Caille, Caille, Mme. Delarue, Billon, Vielle, Donis, Cap-Français
L'Erreur d'un moment (1773), Opera, Dezède	June __, . . . Saint-Marc
Zémire et Azor (1771), Opera, Grétry	June __, . . . Saint-Marc
Le Maréchal-ferrant (1761), Opera, Philidor	June __, . . . Saint-Marc
L'Épreuve ( . . ), Opera, Grétry	June __, . . . Saint-Marc
La Rosière de Salenci (1773), Opera, Grétry	June __, . . . Saint-Marc
Le Jugement de Midas (1778), Opera, Grétry	June __, . . . Saint-Marc
Blaise et Babet (1783), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	June __, . . . Saint-Marc

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1786 (Continued)	
On ne s'avise jamais de tout (1761), Opera, Monsigny	June __, . . , Saint-Marc
Les Souliers mordorés (1776), Opera, Fridzeri	June __, . . , Saint-Marc
La Mélomanie (1781), Opera, Champein	June __, . . , Saint-Marc
La Cacophonie ( . . ), Opera, . .	June __, . . , Saint-Marc
Le Tonnelier (1761), Opera, Gossec	June __, . . , Saint-Marc
L'Épreuve villageoise ( . . ), Opera, Desforgues-Grétry	June __, . . , Saint-Marc
Figaro Directeur ( . . ), Opera, . .	June __, . . , Saint-Marc
Alexis et Justine (1785), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	June __, . . , Saint-Marc
Le Cadi dupé (1761), Opera-bouffon, Monsigny	June 10, Deresmond, Port-au-Prince
Lucile (1769), Opera, Grétry	June 24, . . , . .
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera, Monsigny	June 28, Mme. Duchezac, Mlle. Duchezac; Cap-Français
Concerto de violon ( . . )	June 28, Mlle. Lesage, . .
Le Baiser ( . . ), Opera, Florian-Champein	July 1, Fontaine, Cap-Français
Les deux Tuteurs ( . . ), Opera, Champein	July 15, Minette, Mlle. Saint-Foix, . .

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1786 (Continued)	
Concert de clarinette ( . . ), St. Michel	July 15, Lozin, Port-au-Prince
Le Baiser ( . . ), Opera, Florian-Champein	July 19, Romanville, Cap-Français
Blaise et Babet (1783), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	Aug. 2, Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français
L'Épreuve villageoise ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Grétry	Aug. 5, Mlle. Saint Foix, Port-au-Prince
Blaise et Babet (1783), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	Aug. 5, Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français
La Meunière de Gentilly ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, J. B. de la Borde (1734-1794)	Aug. 12, Mlle. Saint Foix, Port-au-Prince
Figaro, Directeur ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, . .	Aug. 12, Destinval, Port-au-Prince
Zémire et Azor (1771), Opera- feerie, Marmontel-Grétry	Sept. 30, Mme. Surentini, Port-au-Prince
Blaise et Babet (1783), Opera-bouffon, Monvel-Dezède	Sept. 30, . . , . .
La Mélomanie (1781), Opera, Champein	Oct. 4, Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français
Annette et Basile ( . . ), Opera, . .	Oct. 4, . . , . .
L'Amant statue ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Dalayrac	Oct. 7, Minette, Mlle. Saint Foix, Saint-Leger, Durosier, Port-au-Prince
Les deux Comtesses ( . . ), Opera, Paisiello	Oct. 7, Mme. Labarre, Cap-Français

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1786 (Continued)	
Zémire et Azor (1771), Opera, Grétry	Oct. 14, Quesnet, Billon, Cap-Français
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera, Monsigny	Oct. 25, Chastin, Cap-Français
Les deux Rubans ( . . ), Opera, Parisot-Deblois	Nov. 1, Pons, Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français
Ouverture de Panurge (1785), Grétry	Nov. 1, Marsan children, Cap-Français
Les Femmes vengées ( . . ), Opera, Philidor	Nov. 4, . . , . .
Alexis et Justine (1785), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	Nov. 18, Mme. Thibault, Port-au-Prince
Richard Coeur de Lion (1784), Opera, Grétry	Nov. 18, Saint-Leger, Berthier, Port-au-Prince
La belle Arsène (1773), Opera, Monsigny	Nov. 18, Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français
Le Baiser ( . . ), Opera, Champein	Nov. 22, Donis, Cap-Français
L'Amant statue ( . . ), Opera, Dalayrac	Nov. 25, Roland, Saint-Marc
Les Femmes vengees ( . . ), Opera, Philidor	Nov. 29, Clément, Cap-Français
Richard Coeur de Lion (1784), Opera, Grétry	Dec. 2, Fontaine, Cap-Français
Nina ou la Folle par amour (1786), Opera, Dalayrac	Dec. 20, Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français

Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
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Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

## 1786 (Continued)

Blaise et Babet (1783),  
Opera, Monvel-Dezède

Dec. 27, Mme. Dutilleul,  
Cap-Français

## 1787

Orphée et Euridice (1762),  
Opera, Gluck

Jan. 4, Minette, Mlle.  
Saint Foix, Saint Leger, . .

Rêveries renouvelées des Grecs  
(1779), Opera-bouffon,  
F. J. Prot (1747-1823)

Jan. 4, . . , . .

L'Amant statue ( . . ),  
Opera, Dalayrac

Jan. 4, Roland,  
Saint-Marc

Julie (1772), Opera,  
Monvel-Dezède

Jan. 4, Depoix,  
Port-au-Prince

L'Erreur d'un moment (1773),  
Opera, Monvel-Dezède

Jan. 4, Depoix,  
Port-au-Prince

L'Épreuve villageoise ( . . ),  
Opera, Desforges-Grétry

Jan. 11, . . , . .

La Caravane du Caire (1783),  
Opera, Marmontel-Grétry

Jan. 18, Durosier,  
Port-au-Prince

L'Enfant trouvé ( . . ),  
Opera, Sedaine-Monsigny

Jan. 18, Schubert,  
Port-au-Prince

La Dot (1785),  
Opera, Dalayrac

Jan. 18, Romanville,  
Quesnet, Cap-Français

Richard Coeur de Lion  
(1784), Opera, Grétry

Feb. 1, Mme. Deresmond,  
Port-au-Prince

L'Épreuve villageoise  
( . . ), Opera, Grétry

Feb. 8, Lise,  
Port-au-Prince

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1787 (Continued)	
Les Vendangeurs ( . . ), Opera, Piis-Barré	Feb. 20, Quesnet, Cap-Français
Nina ou la Folle par amour (1786), Opera, Dalayrac	March 1, Minette, Port-au-Prince
Silvain (1770), Opera-bouffon, Grétry	March 1, Mlle. Saint-Foix, Port-au-Prince
Orphée et Euridice (1762), Opera, Gluck	March 3, Quesnet, Mme. Marsan, Cap-Français
La Caravane du Caire (1783), Opera, Marmontel-Grétry	March 8, Mme. Surentini, Port-au-Prince
La Dot (1785), Opera, Desfontaines-Dalayrac	March 8, Foucard, Saint-Marc
L'Amant statue ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Dalayrac	March 15, . . , . .
Les Événements imprévus (1779), Opera, Grétry	March 22, Saint-Loup, Port-au-Prince
La belle Arsène (1773), Opera-bouffon, Monsigny	May 3, Minette, Port-au-Prince
Le Mariage d'Antonio ( . . ), Opera, Gretry-Mme. Beaunoir	May 3, Mme. Bourgeois, Port-au-Prince
Nina ou la Folle par amour (1786), Opera, Dalayrac	May 3, Mlle. Saint-Foix, Berthier, Port-au-Prince
Le Magnifique (1773), Opera, Grétry	May 12, Dubuisson, Cap-Français
L'Amant statue ( . . ), Opera, Dalayrac	May 17, Mme. Bourgeois, Cap-Français



Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1787 (Continued)	
L'Épreuve villageoise ( . . ), Opera, Desforgues-Grétry	May 17, . . , . .
Alexis et Justine (1785), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	May 19, Romanville, Mme. Dubuisson, Mme. Delarue, Larue, Denis, Cap-Français
La Caravane du Caire (1783), Opera, Grétry	May 31, Durosier, Port-au-Prince
Richard Coeur de Lion (1784), Opera, Grétry	June 7, Saint-Légér, Acquaire, Port-au-Prince
La Caravane du Caire (1783), Opera, Grétry	June 14, Durosier, Port-au-Prince
Le mariage d'Antonio ( . . ), Opera, Grétry	June 30, Roland, Cap-Français
Les Événements imprévus (1779), Opera, Grétry	June 30, . . , Cap-Français
Les deux Tuteurs (1785), Opera, Dalayrac	June 30, . . , . .
Le Mariage d'Antonio ( . . ), Opera, Grétry	July 7, Dubourg, Cap-Français
Felix (1777), Opera, Monsigny	July 14, Destinval, Port-au-Prince
La Mélomanie (1781), Opera, Grétry	July __, . . , Léogâne
Le Magnifique (1773), Opera, Grétry	July __, . . , Léogâne
La Rosière (1773), Opera, Gretry	July __, . . , Léogâne

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1787 (Continued)	
Les Amours d'été ( . . ), Opera, Piis-Barre	July __, . . , Léogâne
Le Sorcier (1764), Opera, Philidor	July __, . . , Léogâne
La Colonie (1766), Opera, Sacchini	July __, . . , Léogâne
Alexis et Justine (1785), Opera, Monvel-Dezede	July __, . . , Léogâne
La belle Arsène (1773), Opera-bouffon, Monsigny	July __, . . , Léogâne
Les trois Fermiers (1777), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	July __, . . , Léogâne
Annette et Lubin (1762), Opera, Blaise	July __, . . , Léogâne
Buona Souola ( . . ), Opera, C. d'Estandoux sur musique de Piccini	Aug. 4, Saint-Leger, Port-au-Prince
Richard Coeur de Lion (1784), Opera, Grétry	Aug. 11, Mlle. Larue, Cap-Français
La Servante maîtresse (1733), Opera, Pergolesi	Aug. 11, . . , . .
L'Épreuve villageoise ( . . ), Opera, Grétry	Aug. 16, . . , . .
L'Amant statue ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Dalayrac	Aug. 16, Petit, Saint-Marc
Les Vendangeurs ( . . ), Opera, Piis-Barre	Sept. 6, . . , . .

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1787 (Continued)	
La Caravane du Caire (1783), Opera, Marmontel-Grétry	Sept. 6, . . , . .
L'Erreur d'un moment (1773), Opera, Dezède	Sept. 13, . . , . .
La Caravane du Caire (1783), Opera, Marmontel-Grétry	Sept. 13, . . , . .
Richard Coeur de Lion (1784), Opera, Grétry	Sept. 13, . . , . .
La Fée Urgèle (1765), Opera, Duni	Sept. 20, Foucard, Saint-Marc
Richard Coeur de Lion (1784), Opera, Grétry	Sept. 20, . . , . .
Alexis et Justine (1785), Opera, Dezède	Sept. 20, . . , . .
Les Dettes (1787), Opera, Fargest-Champein	Sept. 20, . . , . .
La Rosière de Salenci (1773), Opera-bouffon, Grétry	Oct. 4, Saint Loup, Port-au-Prince
La Caravane du Caire (1783), Opera, Grétry	Oct. 4, . . , . .
Les deux Avars (1770), Opera, Grétry	Oct. 4, . . , . .
Zémire et Azor (1771), Opera, Grétry	Oct. 11, Madame Duclos, Léogâne
Le Droit du Seigneur (1783), Opera, Martini	Oct. 13, Delarue, Cap-Français

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1787 (Continued)	
Les deux Tutuers (1785), Opera, Dalayrac	Oct. 18, Mme. Berthier, Mme. Bourgeois, Port-au-Prince
Les Femmes vengées ( . . ), Opera, Philidor	Oct. 18, . . .
Silvain (1770), Opera, Grétry	Nov. 8, Ribié (Touring company)
Les deux Tutuers (1785), Opera, Dalayrac	Nov. 10, Jaymond (Ribie company)
Ninette a la Cour (1755), Opera, Duni	Nov. 22, Mlle. Saint Foix, Port-au-Prince
Ouverture ( . . ), Manlau	Nov. 22, Manlau, Port-au-Prince
Blaise et Babet (1783), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	Dec. 13, Simon, Cap-Français
La Caravane du Caire (1783), Opera, Marmontel-Grétry	Dec. 13, . . .
L'Infante de Zamora ( . . ), Opera-Feerie, Paisiello	Dec. 13, . . .
Les Femmes et le secret (1767), Opera, Vachon	Dec. 13, . . .
Faux-Lord (1783), Opera-bouffon, Piccinni	Dec. 20, . . .
Iphigénie en Aulide (1774), Opera, Gluck	Dec. 22, Donis, Cap-Français

Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
Composers

Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

1788

Le Faux Lord (1783),  
Opera-bouffon, Piccinni

Jan. 3, Mlle. Thibault,  
Léogâne

Iphigénie en Aulide (1774),  
Opera, Gluck

Jan. 5, . . , . .

L'Amant statue ( . . ),  
Opera, Dalayrac

Jan. 17, Lise,  
Port-au-Prince

Créoles africaines ( . . ),  
Opera, Barre-Radet  
(Local composition)

Jan. 24, Saint-Léger,  
Port-au-Prince

La Mélomanie (1781),  
Opera, Champein

Jan. 24, . . , . .

Faux Lord (1783),  
Opera-bouffon, Piccinni

Jan. 24, Mme. Thibault,  
Lise, Dugné; Léogâne

La Caravane du Caire  
( . . ), Opera, Grétry

Feb. 2, Mlle. Saint Foix,  
Port-au-Prince

La Mélomanie (1781),  
Opera, Champein

Feb. 14, . . , . .

Richard Coeur de Lion  
(1784), Opera, Grétry

Feb. 16, Mme. Clairville,  
Cap-Français

L'Amant statue ( . . ),  
Opera, Dalayrac

Feb. 16, Ribié  
(Touring company)

L'Épreuve villageoise ( . . ),  
Opera, Desforges-Grétry

Feb. 21, Petit,  
Port-au-Prince

L'Amant statue ( . . ),  
Opera, Dalayrac

Feb. 21, . . , . .

Les Dettes (1787),  
Opera-bouffon, Champein

Feb. 21, . . , . .

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1788 (Continued)	
Les Femmes vengées ( . . ), Opera, Philidor	Feb. 28, . . , . .
La Mélomanie (1781), Opera-bouffon, Champein	Feb. 28, . . , . .
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera-bouffon, Monsigny	Feb. 28, . . , . .
Thérèse et Jeannot (1758), Local parody, Clément	March 6, . . , . .
Les fausses Apparences (1778), Opera, Grétry	March 13, . . , . .
La Rosiere de Salenci (1773), Opera-bouffon, Gretry	April 12, Mme. Delarue, Cap-Français
Blaise et Babet (1783), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	April 12, . . , . .
La Mélomanie (1781), Opera-bouffon, Champein	May 1, . . , . .
Les Femmes vengées ( . . ), Opera, Philidor	July 31, Mlle. Saint- Foix, Mme. Caillé, Port-au-Prince
Concert: arias, symphony, overture, duo, etc.; Gluck, Pepe, Punto, Beck	July 31, Pepe, Erly, Saint Léger, Chateau, Port-au-Prince
La Fête d'amour ( . . ), Opera, Mme. Favart	Aug. 16, . . , . .
Les Vendangeurs ( . . ), Opera, Piis-Barre	Aug. 16, . . , . .

Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
Composers

Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

## 1788 (Continued)

Azemia ou les sauvages (1786), Dalayrac	Aug. 21, Durosier, Port-au-Prince
L'Épreuve villageoise ( . . ), Grétry	Sept. 6, . . . .
La Bataille d'Ivry (1783), Grétry	Sept. 25, Foucard, Saint-Marc
La Mélomanie (1781), Opera, Champein	Oct. 4, . . . .
Silvain (1770), Opera, Grétry	Nov. 13, . . . .
La Caravane du Caire (1783), Opera, Grétry	Nov. 13, Durosier, Port-au-Prince
Azemia ou les sauvages (1786), Opera, Dalayrac	Nov. 15, Mme. Faures, Cap-Français
Richard Coeur de Lion (1784), Opera, Grétry	Nov. 22, . . . .
Arianne abandonnée ( . . ), Opera, . .	Dec. 4, Vanhove, Cap-Français
La Caravane du Caire (1783), Opera, Grétry	Dec. 8, Fontaine, Cap-Français

## 1789

Le Déserteur (1769), Opera, Monsigny	Jan. 6, Suin, Cap-Français
Orphée et Euridice (1762), Opera, Gluck	Jan. 10, Donis, Cap-Français

Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
Composers

Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

## 1789 (Continued)

Jérôme Porteur de chaises ( . . ), Opera-bouffon, Sacchini	Jan. 10, . . , . .
La belle Esclave (1787), Opera, Philidor	Jan. 17, . . , . .
Concert: Works by Le Moine, Hyanda and Macarty, Sacchini, Haydn, Gossec	Jan. 29, Minette, Mlle. Sensée, Destinval, Hostié, Mme. Caillé, Mme. Deres- mond, Denis, Legros, Petit; Port-au-Prince
Le Diable à quatre (1756), Opera-comique, Philidor	Jan. 31, . . , . .
Richard Coeur de Lion (1784), Opera, Grétry	March 12, Placide (Touring company)
Concert: Harp, piano, and voice	May 30, Buron, Mlle. Buron; Cap-Français
La nouvelle Amitié à l'épreuve (1770), Opera, Grétry	June 6, Mlle. Delarue, Cap-Français
Iphigénie en Aulide (1774), Opera, Gluck	Aug. 29, Simon, Cap-Français
Le Tableau parlant (1769), Opera, Grétry	Nov. 26, . . , . .
Repeat performance: Le Tableau parlant	Dec. 23, Mme. Delarue, Cap-Français

## 1790

Penurge dans l'île des Lanternes (1785), Opera, Grétry	Jan. 27, Fontaine, Cap-Français
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Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1790 (Continued)	
Nina ou la folle par amour (1786), Opera, Dalayrac	Feb. 13, . . , . .
Nouvelle Annette et Lubin ( . . ), Opera, Martini	Feb. 13, Mme. Delarue, Cap-Francais
L'Amoureux de quinze ans (1771), Opera, Martini	March 6, . . , . .
Ouverture ( . . ), Manlau	March 11, Manlau, Port-au-Prince
Deux petits Savoyards (1787), Opera, Dalayrac	March 11, . . , . .
Les deux Avides (1770), Opera, Grétry	Oct. 24, . . , . .
Le Roi et le fermier (1762), Opera, Monsigny	Nov. 1, . . , . .
Le Bûcheron (1763), Opera, Philidor	Nov. 4, . . , . .
Les Amours d'été ( . . ), Opera, Piis-Barré	Nov. 6, . . , . .
La Mélomanie (1781), Opera, Champain	Nov. 7, . . , . .
Alexis et Justine (1785), Opera, . .	Nov. 9, . . , . .
Les Voyages de Rosine ( . . ), Opera, Piis-Barré	Nov. 10, . . , . .
La Colonie (1766), Opera, Sacchini	Nov. 16, . . , . .

Works, Dates of  
Composition,  
Composers

Announcement Dates  
in Saint-Domingue,  
Performers, Cities

1790 (Continued)

Le Jugement de Midas (1778), Opera, Grétry	Nov. 17, . . , . .
Le Sabot perdu et retrouvé ( . . ), Opera, Pils-Barré	Nov. 18, . . , . .
L'Amant statue ( . . ), Opera, Dalayrac	Nov. 19, . . , . .
Le Milicien (1762), Opera, Duni	Nov. 23, . . , . .
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera, Monsigny	Nov. 24, . . , . .
Les Événements imprévus (1779), Opera, Grétry	Nov. 25, . . , . .
Le Tonnelier (1761), Opera, Audinot-Gossec	Nov. 28, . . , . .
Les Dettes (1787), Opera, Dalayrac	Dec. 1, . . , . .
Solitaire de Normandie ( . . ) Opera, C. F. Lescot (1737-?)	Dec. 2, . . , . .
Richard Coeur de Lion (1784), Opera, Grétry	Dec. 4, . . , . .
Iphigénie en Aulide (1774), Opera, Gluck	Dec. 4, Simon, Saint Robert; Port-au-Prince
Les Ailes de l'amour (1766), Opera, Sacchini	Dec. 5, . . , . .
L'Ami de la maison (1771), Opera, Grétry	Dec. 7, . . , . .

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1790 (Continued)	
Blaise et Babet (1783), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	Dec. 8, . ., . .
Le Magnifique (1773), Opera, Grétry	Dec. 9, . ., . .
Les Souliers mordorés (1776), Opera, Fridzerl	Dec. 11, . ., . .
Les Femmes vengées ( . .), Opera, Philidor	Dec. 12, . ., . .
Les Pêcheurs (1766), Opera-bouffon, Gossec	Dec. 14, . ., . .
Renaud d'Ast (1787), Opera, Dalayrac	Dec. 15, . ., . .
La Dot ( . .), Opera, Desfontaines-Dalayrac	Dec. 15, . ., . .
Le Serrurier (1764), Opera, Kahout	Dec. 21, . ., . .
Le Tonnelier (1761), Opera, Audinot-Gossec	Dec. 22, . ., . .
Le Maréchal-ferrant (1761), Opera, Philidor	Dec. 23, . ., . .
Le Tableau parlant (1769), Opera, Grétry	Dec. 26, . ., . .
La Clochette (1766), Opera, Duni	Dec. 28, . ., . .
Les deux Chasseurs (1763), Opera, Duni	Dec. 29, . ., . .

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1790 (Continued)	
Le Devin du village (1753), Opera, Rousseau	Dec. 30, . ., . .
1791	
Richard Coeur de Lion (1784), Opera, Grétry	Jan. 1, . ., . .
L'Amant jaloux ( . .), Opera, Dalayrac	Jan. 2, Ambroise, . .
Voyages de Rosine ( . .), Opera, Piis-Barré	Jan. 4, . ., . .
Nina (1786), Opera, Dalayrac	Jan. 5, . ., . .
Sargine (1788), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	Jan. 6, . ., . .
La Mélomanie (1781), Opera, Champein	Jan. 8, . ., . .
Le Bûcheron (1763), Opera, Philidor	Jan. 8, Duclos, Port-au-Prince
Zémire et Azor (1771), Opera, Gretry	Jan. 9, . ., . .
Les Femmes et le secret (1767), Opera, Vachon	Jan. 11, . ., . .
La Mélomanie (1781), Opera, Champein	Jan. 12, . ., . .
La Dot (1785), Opera, Desfontaines-Dalayrac	Jan. 13, . ., . .

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1791 (Continued)	
Les Vendangeurs ( . . ), Opera, Piis-Barre	Jan. 13, . . , . .
Nanette et Lucas ( . . ), Opera, . .	Jan. 13, . . , . .
Le Tableau parlant (1769), Opera, Grétry	Jan. 19, . . , . .
Silvain (1770), Opera, Grétry	Jan. 25, . . , . .
Les deux Pages ( . . ), Opera, Dezède	Jan. 25, . . , . .
Le Cadi dupé (1761), Opera-bouffon, Monsigny	Jan. 27, . . , . .
La fausse Magie (1775), Opera, Grétry	Jan. 28, . . , . .
La belle Arsène (1773), Opera, Monsigny	Feb. 2, . . , . .
Les Vendangeurs ( . . ), Opera, Piis-Barre	Feb. 3, . . , . .
Les Savoyards (1789), Opera, Dalayrac	Feb. 3, Mme. Delarue, Cap-Français
L'Amant statue ( . . ), Opera, Dalayrac	Feb. 6, . . , . .
Les Ailes de l'amour (1766), Opera, Sacchini	Feb. 7, . . , . .
L'Épreuve villageoise ( . . ), Opera, Grétry	Feb. 8, . . , . .
La Mélomanie (1781), Opera, Champein	Feb. 10, Garnier, Cap-Français

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1791 (Continued)	
Jérôme porteur de chaise ( . . ), Opera, . .	Feb. 12, . . , . .
Orphee et Euridice (1762), Opera, Gluck	Feb. 12, Ringart, Mme. la Farge Tessier, Port-au-Prince
Alexis et Justine (1785), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	Feb. 13, . . , . .
Blaise et Babet (1783), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	Feb. 15, . . , . .
Les Dettes (1785), Opera, Dalayrac	Feb. 17, . . , . .
La Rosière de Salenci (1773), Opera-bouffon, Grétry	Feb. 20, Bertrand, . .
Blaise le savetier (1759), Opera, Philidor	Feb. 22, Mme. Mourat, Cap-Français
Les deux Tutuurs (1785), Opera, Dalayrac	Feb. 22, . . , . .
Renaud d'Ast (1787), Opera, Dalayrac	Feb. 22, . . , . .
La fausse Magie (1775), Opera, Grétry	March 1, . . , . .
Jérôme porteur de chaises ( . . ), Opera, . .	March 1, . . , . .
Nina (1786), Opera, Dalayrac	March 2, . . , . .
Les deux Savoyards (1789), Opera, Dalayrac	March 7, . . , . .

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1791 (Continued)	
Sargines (1788), Opera, Monvel	March 8, Donis, Cap-Français
Le Jugement de Midas (1778), Opera, Grétry	March 9, . . , . .
La Colonie (1769), Opera, Sacchini	March 10, . . , . .
Les deux Tutuurs (1785), Opera, Dalayrac	March 15, . . , . .
Le Déserteur (1769), Opera, Monsigny	March 16, Mme. d'Annery, . .
Le Tableau parlant (1769), Opera, Grétry	March 17, . . , . .
Silvain (1770), Opera, Grétry	March 19, Delisle, Cap-Français
Rose et Colas (1764), Opera, Monsigny	March 19, . . , . .
L'Amant jaloux ( . . ), Opera, Grétry	March 22, . . , . .
Les trois Sultanes ( . . ), Opera, . .	March 23, . . , . .
Rêveries grecques (1779), Opera, Prot	March 23, . . , . .
Le Tonnelier (1761), Opera, Audinot	March 25, . . , . .
L'Amoureux de quinze ans (1771), Opera, Martini	March 29, . . , . .

Works, Dates of Composition, Composers	Announcement Dates in Saint-Domingue, Performers, Cities
1791 (Continued)	
Blaise et Babet (1783), Opera, Monvel-Dezède	March 30, . . , . .
Les Ailes de l'amour (1766), Sacchini	March 31, . . , . .
L'Épreuve villageoise ( . . ), Opera, Desforages-Grétry	April 9, . . , . .
Azemia (1786), Opera, Dalayrac	June 26, Placide (Touring company)
Annette et Lubin (1762), Opera, Blaise	Aug. 12, . . , . .
Les Ailes de l'amour (1766), Opera-bouffon, Sacchini	Aug. 22, . . , . .
Le Tonnelier (1761), Opera, Audinot-Gossec	Nov. 12, Emilie Villars, Port-au-Prince



## VITA

John Gustav Cale, the writer of this dissertation, was born January 24, 1922, in Mansfield, Louisiana. Early interests in music included private piano lessons and membership in the high school band and choral groups. The author graduated from Mansfield High School in the spring of 1939.

Following the completion of his undergraduate work at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge for the Bachelor of Music (Piano) degree in 1943, the writer spent four years in the United States Army. Of this period, approximately thirty months were spent in the European Theater of Operations during and after World War II.

He began graduate study at the LSU School of Music in 1948 and completed requirements for the Master of Arts degree in Music Literature at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, in 1949. Private piano teaching and nine years' writing of editorials and music and dramatic criticisms on the staff of the Monroe, Louisiana, newspapers followed.

The author accepted a teaching position on the faculty of the Northeast Louisiana University, Monroe, School of Music in 1968. He is married to the former Harriett Gene Houston and is the father of five children.

## EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: John G. Cale

Major Field: Music

Title of Thesis: French Secular Music in Saint-Dominique (1750-1795) Viewed As A  
Factor in America's Musical Growth


Approved:

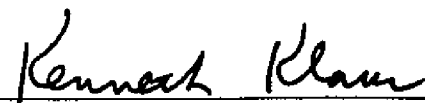
  
Major Professor and Chairman

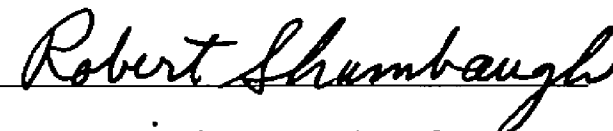
  
Dean of the Graduate School

### EXAMINING COMMITTEE:











Date of Examination:

